

fifth estate

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OCCUPY, OCCUPY

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Vol. 47 No. 2 Spring 2012

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ANARCHIST SUMMER READING

Readin', Writin' & Revolution!
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Exciting times for Fifth Estate

At a time when everyone is declaring the death of print media, our magazine, now in its 47th year, is not only alive, but prospering. We have many new subscribers, new staff, more renewals, increased newsstand sales, and an exciting new look. We ran out of our last issue on Revolution and are increasing our press run for this edition.

This issue's Anarchist Summer Reading theme has the objective of engaging a world in revolt, equipped with ideas and information. Our contents are a panorama of on the street, in your face demonstrations, as well as essays and reports that make our engagement mindful in both thought and action. Please enjoy the issue and let us know what you think, or what we've missed.

This magazine could never appear without subscriptions from readers, our generous contributors, numerous volunteers who edit and proofread, and our incredible writers, artists, and photographers. The old world is in crisis; let's push it into the waste bin of history and be ready to create one we want and deserve.

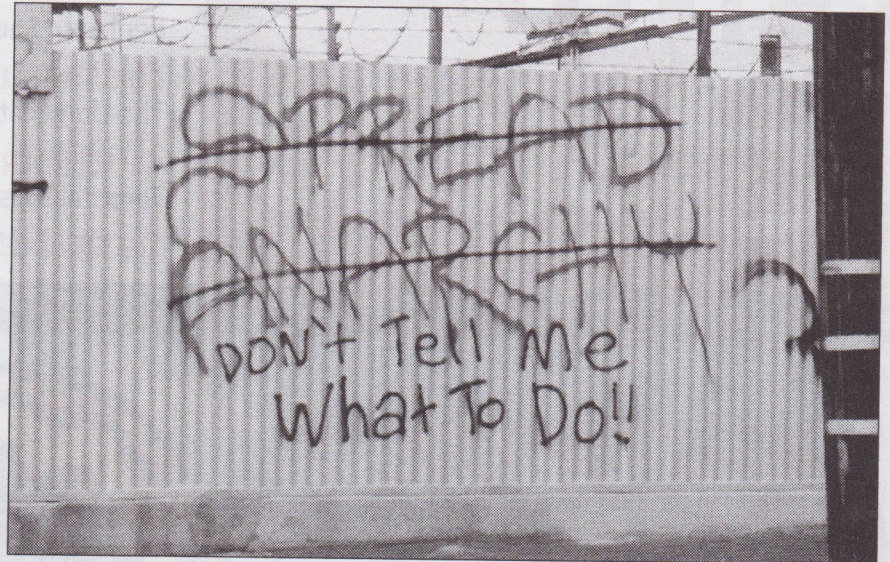
As critical as we are of the gadgets of this era, they have allowed us to publish with collaborators from all over North America, especially Detroit, Hartford, Toronto, Montreal, and Savannah, Georgia. The latter city is home to Zach Kozdron, who has created our new design. More of his work is at behanee.net/zachkozdrone/frame.

**fifth
estate**

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On the Cover

Cover art by Joey Salamon.

Salamon is a Michigan-raised artist who is mostly known for his meticulous paper-based collages. He has contributed artwork to a wide range of organizations including the NORML Foundation, Naukabout Music Festival, and Adeline Records. joeysalamon.com

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Letters to the editor

Our readers respond

Youth Sexualization

In your Spring 2012 issue, reviewer Paul Comeau questions Paul Goodman's "advocating the sexualization of adolescents and children." (see "The Anarchist Writings of Paul Goodman").

I would highly recommend Judith Levine's *Harmful To Minors*, in which she exposes the perils of protecting children from their own sexuality. Comeau says he thinks Goodman would agree that, "it is up to the freely associating members of our society to determine for themselves and their children what are appropriate levels of sexuality and sexual conduct."

One detects more than a hint of the authoritarian view that children are the property of their parents, and that they should be able to control and repress their children's developing sexuality at "appropriate levels."

I find more germane to anarchism Levine's well-argued view that children and adolescents have their own sexual feelings and desires which they should be free to explore and experiment with on their own, and that it is the duty of adults to offer them a good sex education and respect their privacy.

Kyle De Wolf

White Deer, Penn.

Paul J. Comeau Responds: In a society where many adults cannot handle themselves and their sexual feelings and desires in healthy and constructive ways (consult statistics on sexual assault and sexual violence if you need proof of this), I find it hard to buy any view, however well-argued, that children should be free to explore and experiment with their sexuality.

Our society tries its best to deny the sexuality of half its adult population by denying them access to contraceptives and other care necessary to live healthy sex lives, and to shame otherwise responsible adults from expressing their sexuality with outmoded puritanical ideas of sin and guilt.



Rebecca Cook/Special to Fifth Estate

'Unthinkable' exhibit

Federico Arcos, *Fifth Estate* comrade, and veteran of the Spanish anarchist militias of the 1930s, with Julie Herrada, April 7, at Hamtramck, Michigan's 2739 Gallery, during the opening of the exhibit, 'Unthinkable,' a display of artifacts from the collection of Fredy and Lorraine Perlman. Featured were posters and publications from Paris 1968, and from ones produced at Detroit's Print Co-op, as well as a first French edition of Debord's *Society of the Spectacle*, and a floor-to-ceiling display of huge timeline sheets for Perlman's, *The Strait*.

Herrada, Curator of the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan, is holding a color copy of a letter typed by Emma Goldman that Arcos is contributing to the archive. Items from the "Unthinkable" will also be donated to the Labadie.

In such an oppressive setting, encouraging the sexuality of children can only be more harmful than beneficial.

It seems to me that there is a tacit assumption on the part of those who would advocate for child sexuality that households have a means, and a safe space to discuss sexuality with their children. This is a fallacious assumption, when due to economic conditions, parents and children spend very little time together. Combine this with the pressures many adults feel regarding their own sexuality and it can result in a highly toxic situation.

If we are going to strive to build a society where sexuality and sexual expression are acceptable, and not a source of shame, or

repression, we need to address larger issues than questions of whether or not we should be encouraging sexuality of children.

Sex and sexuality are great things, but from my perspective, I think anarchists don't distinguish the forest from the trees by squabbling over smaller things like this, as opposed to focusing on smashing capitalism, patriarchy, and heteronormativity.

If we make that our focus, then it will naturally lead to empowering households and communities to have meaningful dialogue about issues addressed in everyday life, including sexuality and productive freedom.

More on childhood sexuality, see Letters p. 45

The Quadrennial Electoral Fraud



Illustration by Fedele Spadafora

There's an alternative between Obama and Romney, but it's not at the polls.

BY JONNY BALL

Occasionally, the liberal-democratic system nobly affords us the chance to select our representatives from a shallow gene-pool of political management professionals.

Save for this transient moment in the ballot booth, we're separated from the exclusive franchise of governance altogether. Voting is our only momentary and tenuous connection to the establishment. Best to leave power and responsibility up to the professionals; the experts, the think-tanks, policy-wonks, lobbyists and journalists.

Just like any other specialised industry, with its own internal contradictions and power-relationships, the political class is not a

homogenised elite, united in a conspiratorial desire to oppress, control or get rich, but all of the actors in the political spectacle are moulded from the same clay. You see it as they slither through primaries and caucuses, TV spots and talk shows, serious interviews and light-hearted features in glossy magazines, vying for the approval of a populace that has long since lost interest and learnt to take everything they say with a pinch of salt.

The very existence of centralised government necessarily prefigures an exclusion, a separation, a surrendering of power for those who are not part of the political elite. Decision-making powers are delegated to the salaried statesmen, to be enacted by faceless and impenetrable bureaucracies, apparently the most efficient way to conduct the affairs of a modern, technological civilization. A self-perpetuating, self-propelling cycle of social reproduction, a mechanical propagation of the suited and enterprising class, the partisans of their own careers is a true technocratic marvel.

Their interests overlapping with the needs of capital, each greasing the wheels of the

other, they form part of a giant social machine characterised by near total harmony between the state and the propertied classes. This does not presuppose a monolithic conception of government or capital as two united and homogenous units, but the interplay of differing interests within these bodies strengthens their grip on power, their sham plurality being the hallmark of representative democracy.

But, no one in government is arguing over the fundamentals. They come together in a coefficient of affinity with varying levels, the party lines only differing in degree, like a choice between Pepsi and Pepsi-lite. Policy-makers nit-pick over the finer details but preserve the core, and in the wider population, in opinion polls, national elections and everyday conversation, everyone is asked their opinion about every detail in order to prevent them having one about the totality.

So, we're left with an endless set of choices — pointless policy debates over taxation, budgets, bail-outs, bonuses, regulation. Everything on the agenda is a set piece of

► fine-tuning and tweaking but never questioning the legitimacy of the whole, the social machine in its entirety.

The boundaries are immediately set in stone and the possibilities limited, all alternatives positioned very much within the system, mounted comfortably within the discourses of the big government left or the arch-capitalists of the right, with sometimes even the most ardent anarchists smashing windows in the name of welfare-statism, a bizarre spectacle of a black bloc protesting against government spending cuts. Vandals for social-democracy.

It is this reciprocity, the binary antagonism between two models of capitalism that furnishes the system with its ability to evolve, adapt and flow through crises and traumas. It is a mutually beneficial false opposition, a false dichotomy between interconnecting forces that are always the same in essence.

The old Marxists thought the enfranchisement of the workers would usher in a period of parliamentary socialism, even proletarian dictatorship. Who then could see the dynamics of representation and power?

Elections and suffrage are no threat to networks of coercive power and domination. on the contrary, they are complimentary to it. They are its lifeblood and its pacemaker enabling its perpetual flows and transformations, its moral crutch to fall back on and its facelift signifying freedom, choice and liberty.

Voting allows the system its pretensions. A great popularity contest to choose our masters, just as we would choose our school's class monitors to make us more forgiving of the teacher's cane.

But we know the nature of representation; a refined manipulation and a gross con, yielding our own powers and potentialities to gangs of grinning, air-brushed thugs, to administer our own enslavement, to supervise and manage our own disenfranchisement with our mandate and our approval—participation in our own alienation.

The capitalist social machine has become so omnipotent and omnipresent that it demands our participation. There is no escape when every last corner of the world has been colonised by a tidal wave of nullity.

We have no choice but to engage in capital's grand theatre or live as hermits, retreating into self-indulgent madness. Every time we consume or produce (apparently, we now vote with our purchasing power) we are party to the system. We inscribe ourselves on the social apparatus and prolong it further into posterity.

The anarchist is no more a fraud in the polling station than in the supermarket. We are all collaborators, complicit in the maintenance of established systems of authority. In our current decrepit situation, whether we abstain, spoil the ballot, or boycott, we still remain powerless to detach ourselves from capital's yoke.

What is to be done when we are faced, like the French in 2002, with a choice between a fascist and a reactionary old Gaullist? Or, between Obama and Romney? This kind of situation must be left up to people's individual consciences.

Our dilemma is how to build a decentralised, participatory and horizontal network of power outside the state and representative, mediating institutions and without haranguing, hijacking, and recuperating by whatever special interests. This is no mean feat.

But there can be no more dead-end election campaigns or membership drives, no more misplaced faith in the ability of government to do things they are incapable of doing, and no more seduction by the public relations men for the one candidate who seems different to the rest. ■

Financial Advice for the Working Class: Unemployment

Don't have a job? Most people think this is a disaster.
Could it be the context for a post-capitalist society?

BY JOHN HARDIN

You can't turn on the news these days without hearing about unemployment. The national unemployment rate hovers at about 8.3 percent, although experts agree that the number of people out-of-work far exceeds that figure.

The 8.3 percent figure only reflects the number of people actually looking for work. It does not count the growing number of people who have stopped looking for work.

This "not working, not looking for work" segment of the population might really be on to something. Jobs don't pay like they used to. Fewer jobs than ever actually provide a living wage. Housing costs came unhinged from wages years ago. Affordable housing used to mean that you had a decent place to live that cost no more than one-quarter of your monthly wage. How many of us can say we have affordable housing by that standard?

Most employers expect workers to have a phone, reliable transportation, and a presentable wardrobe whether or not the job pays enough to cover those costs. Workers often make these expenses a priority over their physical needs, sacrificing their own health for their employers profit.

A full time job scarcely leaves workers enough time or energy to prepare healthy meals, further compromising health. For this meager existence, workers trade roughly half of their waking hours, and 60-80 percent of their life energy.

When you think about it that way, it's a wonder anyone wants a job. Let's look at the people who have stopped looking for work. How do they do it? How do they get by? What are they doing that's working for them? Are they dealing drugs, robbing banks or hacking computers? They can't all have the talent to deal, rob, and hack profitably.

Half of the world's population lives on less than \$1 a day. Why can't we? If living in a storm sewer and eating spit-roasted rat isn't better than working for a living, it's gotta be close. Life is too short to spend it in self-imposed slavery chasing an elusive, and mostly extinct middle-class illusion.

Most of us already know that we're never going to be super-rich, but if you no longer aspire to be middle-class, a job no longer seems like such a necessary evil, and evil it is. If you can get out from under your job, you can reclaim your time, your energy, and your freedom. Three things working people have sold too cheaply for too long, all of them more valuable than money.

The biggest problem the world faces right now is too much money. Too much money caused the housing meltdown. Too much money caused the Fukushima meltdown, and too much money caused the polar ice-cap meltdown. We've really got to stop thinking about how to make more money, and figure out how to live without it.

We've got about seven billion people on the planet, and right now, damn near every one of them wants to make money. So, they all start

See Financial Advice, page 43

Survival of the Fittest?

Tribal people took care of their own better than modern society.



BY KELLY ROSE PFLUG-BACK

The concept of history is far from neutral. Under the monopoly of elites, narratives of the past can be erased, rewritten and taken out of their original context according to their needs.

Dominant concepts of history are often used to justify social inequalities by portraying them as natural rather than constructed. We are led to believe that groups who lack power in today's cultures have always lacked power, that inferiority is their natural state, and that there is no alternative social structure where freedom and equality could be achieved by all.

People with disabilities are no exception to this. We are told that before the saving graces of civilization and Western medicine, weak or immobile people would simply have been left to die—only the fittest survived, and life was a short, bitter struggle against a natural world that we had not yet learned to dominate.

Modern concepts of ability and disability are heavily rooted in whether people are economically productive workers. While the autoimmune disease I live with frequently renders me inefficient as an employee, I rarely feel “disabled” in my pursuits outside the realm of wage labor.

In this article, I use the word “exceptionalities” instead of “disabilities” because I find it a more neutral and accurate descriptor of the broad range of physical and mental traits that are not typical of the majority population, yet would not necessarily be considered inferior outside the context of capitalist production.

By contrast to human accounts of the past, the historical record kept by nature is not written according to the biases of those

in power. Ancient logs keep their own record of the yearly amount of rainfall in long-ago centuries. Human bones from the dawn of agriculture show us a record of which modern diseases were non-existent before the domestication of animals and food crops.

In recent years, nature's record has provided significant evidence against the myth that only strong, productive individuals have ever been valued by society. One of the most famous of these comes from the Shanidar Cave in northern Iraq, a site containing the bones of seven adult Neanderthals which scientists began excavating in the late-1950's.

The cave, and its resident Neanderthals, the intelligent sub-species of *Homo Sapiens* with whom we shared the planet until 80,000 years ago, provide a strong argument that people with physical exceptionalities were not shunned or left to die before the advent of modern medical technology.

Two of the skeletons are the remains of people who suffered from long-term, immobilizing health conditions. Shanidar 1, an adult male, had suffered a skull fracture in his childhood, crushing his eye socket and causing brain injury leading to the right side of his body being underdeveloped and paralysed. Shanidar 3, another adult male, had abnormalities of his lumbar vertebrae and a degenerative joint disorder in his right foot that would have made walking difficult and painful.

Neither of these individuals would have been capable of hunting, gathering, providing, or defending against aggressors, yet neither skeleton showed evidence of Harris lines (a sign of stunted growth periods), perforations of the bone, or any other indication that they experienced malnutrition at any point in their lives.

Shanidar 1 is estimated to have died in his 40's, which is equivalent to being about 80 years old today.

Most Neanderthal skeletons that have been recovered show signs of numerous, often severe fractures, believed to be the result of hunting large animals with short-range weapons such as hand axes. A population with such a high prevalence of injuries among its productive adults could not have afforded to neglect or discard the ill or injured.

Many scientists today view Shanidar 1 and 3 as evidence that Neanderthals understood the concept of charity. However, this perspective may be very skewed by our current attitudes towards disability. Did the Neanderthals of Shanidar care for these individuals because of the pity or obligation that contemporary society feels towards people with exceptionalities, or was food and care provided for them out of part of an equal exchange in which they too gave valued companionship and services that were vital to the rest of the group?

The possible social status of these two men may also be difficult to grasp for those of us raised with ingrained notions of labor being divided according to gender. Today, in many cultures men are expected to be dynamic, competitive, assertive, physically strong and capable of being a defender and an aggressor in equal capacity.

These standards of masculinity are relative to modern social, economic, and cultural norms, none of which would come even close to being established until thousands of years after Neanderthals vanished from the earth.

With the increase of ritual burials from the Middle Paleolithic to the Upper Paleolithic, evidence of the possible social status of people with exceptionalities also

► increases. Three of the most elaborate burials of the Upper Paleolithic all contain the remains of people with obvious physical exceptionalities, something which, among present hunter-gatherer societies, generally indicates that the deceased filled a valuable social role.

A burial site excavated in Dolni Vestonice, Czechoslovakia, contained the remains of two men and a woman whose pelvis and leg bones were severely malformed. Pierced

possibility of filling non-physical roles such as spiritual practitioner or oral-historian, people with mobility restrictions could have dedicated extra time to processing hides, processing and preparing food, and manufacturing tools and clothing. A person who could focus all of their labor on these tasks could gain special expertise and possibly develop a knack for innovation.

While life before modern medical technology would certainly not have been

controlled and owned by a profit-driven medical and pharmaceutical industry.

On a global scale, most people with physical exceptionalities do not have access to sufficient food and clean water, let alone mobility aids and rehabilitative surgeries.

The social amnesia created by history's evacuation for the profit of a few essentially locks us in the dark room of the present, with no past to root our struggles in and no model for a better future.

Cut off from the genealogy of our struggles, marginalized people are more likely to accept our own inferior placement in society, believing that it is natural and therefore inescapable.

Encouraging this historical myopia serves the interests of the status quo. If the public has no knowledge of what existed before our current structures of power and exploitation, the risks of stepping away from those structures can be sensationalized and exaggerated, and anyone who makes practical steps towards a radically more egalitarian society can be dismissed as hopelessly utopian.

While the word utopia means "a good place," it also means "nowhere." The second part of this definition can not realistically be applied to the notion of a classless, communal society when in fact human society has been classless, communal and without bureaucratic governmental structures for the vast majority of its time on the planet. ■

"People with physical exceptionalities weren't shunned, on the contrary, their difference appears to have been highly valued."

carnivore canines and ivory pendants were found around their skulls, and the female skeleton had red ochre over her skull and pelvis.

Another burial in Sunghir, Russia, contained two children lying head to head, one of whom suffered from a congenital condition causing the long bones of her legs to be underdeveloped and bowed. They were covered with thousands of tiny hand-carved ivory beads, perforated arctic fox canines, ivory jewelry, and spears made from mammoth tusk.

A third burial in the Romito Cave, Italy, contained the remains of an adolescent boy with the typical characteristics of dwarfism and an adult woman, lying with their arms around each other beneath an intricate engraving of a bull.

People with physical exceptionalities weren't shunned, on the contrary, their difference appears to have been highly valued.

One theory explaining the special burial treatment of these individuals is that their atypical appearances were linked to spiritual or magical beliefs. In addition to the

idyllic for all people with exceptionalities, today's systems of global capitalism have created the type of brutal, dog-eat-dog reality that civilization and technology supposedly saved us from in the first place. The gap between the global elite and the poor majority has never been so huge, and the playing field of daily survival has never been less even.

While recent medical technologies have offered many new, potentially life-changing options to people with physical exceptionalities, these technologies can not fulfil their potential when they are



Kelly Pflug-Back is a 23 year old writer and activist based in Ontario. Her poetry, fiction, and articles have appeared The Dominion Paper, Ideomancer Speculative Fiction, and This Magazine.

In June 2010, she was arrested following the G20 summit protests in Toronto and was profiled as the alleged "leader" of the Black Bloc.

After spending over a month in jail, she was released with charges of conspiracy, assaulting police with a weapon, and multiple counts of mischief over \$5,000. She has pled guilty to six counts of mischief, for which the Crown is seeking 18 months in jail. The rest of her charges have been dropped.

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We are always looking for people help distribute our issues at North American anarchist book fairs. Let us know when an event in your area is a occurring and how many you can pass out for free, and we'll ship them to you.

We would like to have our magazine at fairs on other continents, but postage costs have made shipping all but a few almost prohibitive.

Reach us by snail mail or at distro@fifthestate.org

Anarchism and the Anti-Authoritarian Personality

Is there a distinct anarchist personality type?

Is there a discernible one among the marginally employed?

BY JIM FEAST

All generalizations founder on the rock of their exceptions, but can it be said that certain definable character structures emanate from one's political philosophy or position within capital's work apparatus?

It is instructive that literary praise for the recently deceased, internationally acclaimed, Chilean author, Roberto Bolaño, concentrate exclusively on his depiction of mysterious authors and texts, overlooking an equally prominent, political component of his work.

Take Bolaño's masterpiece, *The Savage Detectives*, where critics note the unusual structure. The book consists of interviews in a criminal investigation of two poets in which what crime they committed is never explained.

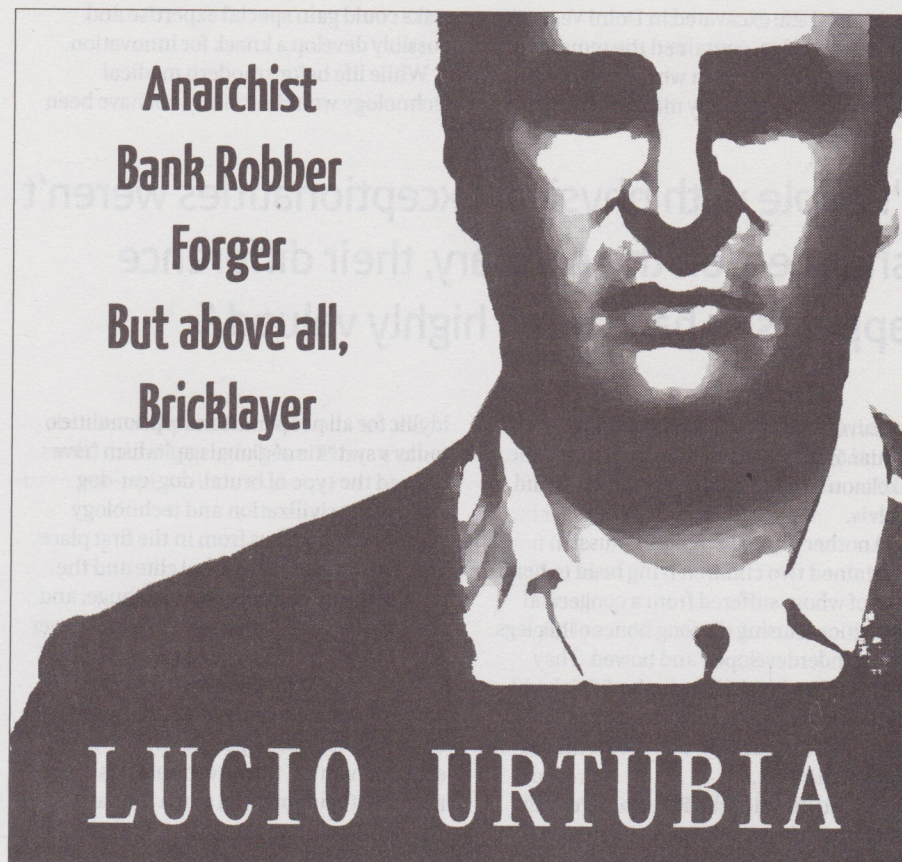
The interviews describe their itinerant lives, one or the other working as a dishwasher in Italy, a fisherman in Spain, a stringer in Liberia, or at other dead-end jobs. Bolaño's political argument is simple: Any genuine creativity, juice, or vitality left at this stage of capitalism is to be found below the bottom in an international, migrant *precarariat*, those without regular employment and no job security.

Bolaño contrasts the shallow lives of middle class literary luminaries, surrounded by minions and sycophants, to the tough, comradely life of his heroes, surrounded by female bodybuilders/waitresses, homeless people sleeping on the beach, poor fisherfolk, and others in the lower depths.

There is often a special link between anarchists and this stratum of workers. It's not that anarchist workers have generally been part-timers nor that semi-proletarian workers all become anarchists.

Rather, this link is based on three claims: 1) that each category of work tends to generally attract or create employees of similar character types; 2) that, as many 19th century thinkers such as Emma Goldman claimed, there is a typical anarchist personality; and 3) there is an elective affinity between these types.

By way of analogy, let's look at the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the U.S.'s most important anarchist union



Poster by Lantz Arroyo

Lucio Urtubia Jiménez (born 1931) is a Spanish anarchist famous for his practice of political expropriation. At times compared to Robin Hood, Urtubia carried out bank robberies and forgeries throughout the 1960s and 1970s, funneling the money to revolutionary guerilla groups. His claim to fame was the forgery of Citibank traveler's checks in 1977. This act hit the financial giant so hard, its stock price plummeted.

Though Urtubia was ultimately jailed, the phony checks were still on the streets and spread all across Europe. The charges against him were dropped in exchange for the printing plates. After only six months in prison, Lucio Urtubia was released. Aside from his brief prison sentence, he never missed a day of work as a bricklayer. He is now retired and lives in France.

The graphic above and the one on the back page are available as posters from Radix Media which produces radical literature and beautiful propaganda. Visit radixmedia.org and radixmedia.etsy.com.

during the early years of the 20th century. The Wobblies, as they were universally called, attracted full- and part-time workers, from

textile workers to bindlestiffs, miners to hobos to its ranks, hoping to integrate them all into One Big Union, as their call to class



► war proclaimed.

One of the organization's key tactics—for example, in the free speech fights on the West Coast, when a soapbox speaker was jailed, the call would go out and hundreds of Wobblies would hobo in to join battle—depended on workers with very loose ties to employment.

Though many Wobs who streamed into towns like San Diego and Spokane for the free speech fights in the first years of the century probably abandoned full time jobs, it was in an era when routinized work was relatively new and workers had not fully adapted to it. This type of looseness of ties is a hallmark of part-timers. Just as their tactic seemed shaped with what we now call the precariat in mind, typical psychic attitudes of part-timers seem coincident with those of the prototypical anarchist.

This parallel is made explicit in the book *The Company I Keep* by modern era Canadian anarchist, semi-proletarian and versifier, Jordan Zinovich.

Zinovich writes, "It's difficult to separate my writing from my anarchism." His career has spanned being a backwoods Canadian free lifer, a squatter in London, a member of New York's Autonomedia publishing collective, and an ambassador-at-large for the Ruigoord Cultural Free Space in Amsterdam.

In *The Company I Keep*, a book of verse, he creates a semi-proletarian persona whose attributes can be used to establish the traits of an anarchist, anti-authoritarian personality.

It could be said that the working class proper, given its standardized 9 to 5 job, tends to become numbed and alienated. The semi-proletarian, constantly shifting workplaces and tasks, is less subject to habitualized perceptions and routines. In agreement with this characterization, Zinovich stresses his hero's rawness of perception:

Each sensation is absolutely original:
a snowflake on a bubble
trembling at the edge
of disappearance

Many of the jobs occupied by this class, such as harvesting, fishing, lumberjacking, and even construction work, are seasonal, tied to the rhythms of nature. While this tie does not exist, say, for today's office temp, one could say her or his employment matches another rhythm, layoffs and hirings being in tempo with the business cycle.

Zinovich, who worked for five years as a tree planter in British Columbia, harks back to this

historical profile in arguing the anarchist is ecological through and through.

Cone pickers and tree planters are hired only at the proper season, and even construction workers only work when weather permits. For the semi-proletarian, such relative closeness to the earth irradiates through all their other attitudes. The characteristic also suggests why anarchists have been at the forefront of the ecological movement for a blue/green planet.

In his poem, "Birth," Zinovich contrasts the perspectives of different workers. There is the view of those living according to an industrial rhythm.

Too many people are impatient
They crane forward
with one ear cocked to the infinite ...
They ponder, but don't "understand."

But the knowers, the semi-proletariat, do understand "Time's language," which "flows from far above conscious thoughts," as he puts it. A bit obscure, yes, but the poet's assumption is that the casual worker, who cobbles together a new schedule each semester or week or growing season, has a view of time as fractured, ever-shifting and polyphonous, a view of temporality fundamentally different from that of the full timer who traditionally looks to a stable life trajectory: job leading to retirement. To Zinovich, those who see time as polyphonous are comprehending its true language.

The anarchist worker is constantly in conversation, and constantly joking, each trait derivative of the lifestyle of the semi-worker. Drawing from my own experience as an office temp in publishing, the typical full-timer quickly settles in, familiarized with a particular shop's routines so the work becomes the routine which domesticates their life to the tasks at hand.

However, moving from job to job, I had to continually reorient, which meant discovering the nuance of each workplace, something that could only be accomplished by talking to everyone.

As Canadian historian, Andre Drainville, characterizes this attitude, "It is the approach of those who must think in defensive and instrumental terms, who must create their own kin groups, their networks of protection, influence and social intercourse, who invent social equivalencies and codes of reciprocity from within the confines of an established [institution]."

From the temps' perspective, the precarious nature of their employment makes it hard to take deadlines and office intrigues seriously and easy to adopt (perhaps covertly) an ironic attitude. It's not that temps are particularly slackers or malcontents – they'd hardly be called back if they adopted those attitudes – but that, one and all, the part-timers I've worked with – and there was not an anarchist among them – could not take seriously the pretensions that their employers existed to serve customers, benefit the world or do anything but line the bosses' pockets. These were pretensions by and large swallowed by full timers.

However, the temps would never voice these attitudes on the job; they want to be called back. This, having to constantly repress one's desire to puncture pretensions, is a formula for creating irony.

Defining the anarchist personality, which is nature- and dialogue-oriented, acutely aware and possessing an outsized funny bone, might appear more flattery than analysis. But Zinovich goes on to suggest that these attributes have down sides.

The semi-proletarian, because of their helter-skelter, ever-shifting work patterns, often live wholly in the present. Given their disenfranchisement, semi-proletarians have a less complacent view of society's ideological lattice, something at the root of their humor, but such attitudes can lead to dropping out, rather than dropping in. Or, worse to intra-class crime and violence, racist, sexist, and homophobic attitudes, and envying the rulers rather than opposing them.

And, need it be said that all who profess anarchist beliefs don't always act in terms of their beliefs? By this point, it probably seems my opening distinction between part-timers and anarchists was disingenuous. If anarchists share all the personality traits of the precariat, wouldn't that suggest the two groups are one and the same? But there's another way of seeing this.

Let us assume that if the world is to survive, its current form of capitalist organization will have to be replaced by a new one, that of a green, stateless cooperative commonwealth. And, that such a society will demand new character structures.

We can speculate that ideally anarchists, no matter what their positions in society, have created personalities by drawing on the model they find in the precariat, because this is the most appropriate character for living in advance of a progressive future. ■

Against Equality: Don't Ask to Fight Their Wars!

Repeal of Don't Ask, Don't Tell means gays can now fight openly in the Empire's wars

**YASMIN NAIR, RYAN CONRAD,
AND KARMA R. CHÁVEZ**

One of the most iconic images to emerge from WWII was shot by photographer Alfred Eisenstaedt, on August 14, 1945. In it, an anonymous sailor has swept a nurse into his arms, bent her back, and is kissing her fervently. The photograph has long circulated as an erotic symbol of the end of the war for the US.

For years, no one knew the identity of the woman. Finally, in 1980, Edith Shain, wanting a copy of the photo, contacted *Life* magazine, where the image had appeared, and identified herself.

Eisenstaedt flew out to meet her and, as she put it later, "He looked at my legs and said I was the one."

In an interview, Shain said that it was not only an unwilling kiss on her part but that she had suffered for years from a sense of embarrassment: "Someone grabbed me and kissed me, and I let him because he fought for his country. I closed my eyes when I kissed him. I never saw him."

As the *Los Angeles Times* reports, afterwards, as she walked away, the married nurse encountered another soldier who wanted a kiss, but she left.

Read and seen one way, "Sailor Kissing Nurse," as the image is sometimes called, circulates as an expression of pure patriotic joy. And certainly, we imagine that is what this sailor thought himself expressing.

Yet, even without knowing who the players were or how Shain felt, it is not hard to also see it as a picture of sexual violation. In light of her words, the violation becomes even more obvious: he grabbed her, she felt compelled to let him kiss her, to close her eyes, to never see his face, and she felt embarrassed about it for years.

Read this way, though less severe by comparison, Shain's words and experiences, can be located in the context of more recent accounts of the sexual violence rampant in the military. The 2012 Sundance US Documentary Audience Award went to "The Invisible War." The *Seattle Post Intelligencer* notes that this film, made by Kirby Dick and Amy Ziering, uncovers the horrors of tens



The iconic scene of a Navy sailor kissing a nurse following the Japanese surrender in 1945 is depicted in this statue, tellingly entitled, "Unconditional Surrender." The three-ton sculpture is on loan to New York City from the Santa Monica Midway Museum since 2007, and sits in Times Square. It will soon be replaced by a permanent bronze version in December. Donations will cover the \$1 million price tag. Rather than a surrender, the act today would be considered a sexual assault.

of thousands of service women and men who are raped, mostly by fellow servicemen, and often superiors who are treated with impunity.

Sexual violence is not merely a symptom of the military, it is twisted into the fabric of its everyday life. Recently, the *Canadian*

magazine, *Xtra*, published an exposé of homophobic bullying in the Canadian army. Here, soldiers report frequent harassment in the form of intimidation and name-calling; the hostility extends to women as well as gay men.

Xtra quotes Laurentian sociologist Gary Kinsman saying, "We're actually talking

- ▶ about very dangerous situations for women in general, but also for anyone who's openly identified as being queer, whether they are or not."

Violence, consequently, does not only occur during wartime; the military is by definition a violent institution, and its violence, in both times of peace and war, takes the shape of rape and sexual assault against women and queers. Yet, somehow, all

abroad. Even some progressives, including good friends of ours, lauded the DADT repeal, insisting that we should be able to separate the question of militarism and U.S. imperialism from the fact that the repeal ended one form of systemic discrimination.

We understand this as a liberal perspective which suggests that any move in the direction of inclusion is a positive one, and we realize the profound affective (and

– who have a long, rich, and documented history of a critique of state apparatuses and the imperialisms they foster – could not but help be reminded of another, recent war on Afghanistan, and the fact that it was justified by Laura Bush as a way to ensure women's freedom from the oppressive Taliban.

The question of the civil right to serve in the military must be connected with the bigger concerns of imperialism and military state violence so easily avoided with the popular focus on love and open service in DADT-repeal discourse.

Given that gay rights, and human rights discourse in general, are used in the service of imperialism and that violence against women, queers, and people of color continues to permeate all aspects of the military apparatus, radical LGBTQ people should be the first to be ever vigilant and opposed to any expansion of the military industrial complex.

If we are not opposed, to cite Cynthia Enloe's *Does Khaki Become You?: The Militarization of Women's Lives*, from nearly 30 years ago, the khaki will not only become us, but consume us. ■

Against Equality is an online archive, publishing, and arts collective focused on critiquing mainstream gay and lesbian politics. As queer thinkers, writers and artists, we are committed to dislodging the centrality of equality rhetoric and challenging the demand for inclusion in the institution of marriage, the US military, and the prison industrial complex via hate crimes legislation. We want to reinvigorate the queer political imagination with fantastic possibility. againstequality.org

The collective's second anthology, *Against Equality: Don't Ask To Fight Their Wars!*, is available from againstequality.org, AK Press, and local independent bookstores.

"Sexual violence is not merely a symptom of the military, it is twisted into the fabric of its everyday life."

of this eludes the mainstream gay movement which celebrates the end of the U.S. military's Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) policy (which prohibited gays and lesbians from functioning as out service members) and waxes beatifically about how queers can now fully participate in the armed forces.

In anticipation of the end of DADT in 2011, then President of the Human Rights Campaign, Joe Solmonese, is quoted in a press release: "Tomorrow is a historic day for gay and lesbian service members and our nation as a whole. 'Don't Ask, Don't Tell' was a stain on our nation. ..."

The elation at the DADT repeal, and the unbridled celebrations that followed the September 20, 2011 end date have been perhaps best captured in iconic images that have gone viral on the Internet. They include a lesbian sailor kissing her girlfriend upon her return home, deliberately staged to imitate Eisentaedt's photograph, and of two male soldiers kissing, one with his legs wrapped around the waist of the other, and several others. Such images turn our attention away from the violence of the military and focus attention instead on celebrating the idea that gays and lesbians may now serve equally in the country's imperialist wars and be defined only by their love, a love assumed to be untouched by the violence of the state.

As we argue in our book, *Against Equality: Don't Ask To Fight Their Wars*, the exultation over the DADT repeal erases the reality of the U.S.'s role in perpetrating violence here and

for members of the military, the material impulse for espousing it. We vehemently disagree with this position.

The DADT repeal, the activism before it, and the celebration after it, reflect mainstream gay and lesbian people's tacit acceptance and active promotion of militarism as a mechanism for national belonging. Not only does this then put gay and lesbian people in the position of accepting state violence as the conduit for their belonging, but it also reinforces the ways in which certain gay and queer subjectivities are taken up in the name of imperialisms, as countries like the U.S. now apply foreign policy pressure in the name of "gay rights."

In December 2011, Hillary Clinton made a now-famous and historic speech on Human Rights Day in Geneva, where she declared that the United States would defend gay rights around the world. While this was lauded by straight and gay progressives alike, left and radical queers

Karma R. Chávez writes about feminism, queer theory, and social movements and is finishing a book, *Queer/Migration Politics: Activist Rhetoric and Coalitional Possibilities*.

Ryan Conrad co-founded Against Equality. His written and visual work is at faggotz.org.

Yasmin Nair is a co-founder of Against Equality, and the Policy Director of Gender JUST, a grassroots organisation working on social and economic justice through a queer lens. She is currently writing *Strange Love: Neoliberalism and the Politics of Affect*. Her work is at yasminnair.net

Occupy the Future

FIFTH ESTATE

It's us or them. For almost all of state society, except for a few precious moments, it's been them.

They've wrecked the earth, destroyed her treasures, and inflicted misery on the many, all so they can golf or set up their lawn chairs on some clear cut forest. It's over whether we do anything or not, but if we fail to act, the future will metastasize into the wreckage colonization always leaves in its collapse.

The colonization of the world, marked by our domestication to the culture of the state and capitalism, creates the insidious belief there is no alternative to what currently exists. In a few months, however, millions across the world have learned by direct experience that this is a lie from which only the rulers benefit. They've had their four millennium run; it's our turn now.

Our revolt is world-wide, from Egypt to China, Greece to Oakland, California. Some of it still holds illusions about reform, but the masters don't; they know what's at stake. Thousands have been killed across the world fighting tyrannical governments. Tens of thousands have been arrested. In the U.S. alone, over 7,000 people have been arrested in Occupy actions.

The rulers know it's a fight for who will define the future. It's time we do as well.

The essays which follow examine different pieces of the American Occupy experience. Our movement is so diverse that each article makes no pretensions other than to examine the subject under discussion. Everything is still wide open, and that's what scares the masters so much.



Anarchists lead the way in a May Day march. Authoritarian leftists tried to intervene in Occupy New Orleans but were rebuffed. —photo: N.Krebill, n.krebill.org

OCCUPY NOLA

Occupy New Orleans Fights Off the authoritarian Left to defend Horizontalism

BY JOHN CLARK

It was encouraging to see large numbers of anarchists and anti-authoritarians at a late March Occupy New Orleans General Assembly (OccupyNOLA). As one of the participants mentioned, Occupy is in many ways the most significant grassroots uprising since the Vietnam Era.

In some ways, it's an even more important development, since it's a break with the suicidal direction the Left has taken for most of the past century. It's a break with top-down, hierarchical, authoritarian, patriarchal models of organizations.

What is now called "horizontalism" is really the anarchist ideal of grassroots, participatory, egalitarian, decentralist, non-authoritarian organization. The emergence of these dimensions of the movement, seemingly out of nowhere, constitutes the miracle of Occupy. The existence of these dimensions is the basis for the enormous liberatory potential still inherent in the

Occupy Movement.

However, we have to recognize that when we (anarchists, anti-authoritarians, horizontalists) fail to take the initiative, the movement tends to deteriorate and revert either to futile liberalism or to manipulation by Leninist sectarianism.

The meeting, held in the city's Washington Square Park, was a good example of the kind of dangers we face (though we met them extremely well!). For example, one Leninist sectarian who has hardly attended any OccupyNOLA meetings over the past seven months, showed up primarily to tell us, in an annoyed tone, that we are fools for adopting the very horizontalism that has most defined Occupy. And that he, in all his wisdom as a vanguardist non-participant, knows the true line that OccupyNOLA should follow.

In other words, we should endorse the same tired, discredited, statist path that almost everybody inside or outside of



The Black Bloc in action during the 26th of March Day of Rage in London. Liberal columnist Chris Hedges calls these tactics "criminal" and says the Bloc "hijacks" the Occupy movement in the U.S. The cops agree. John Zerzan takes him on.

VAGARIES OF THE LEFT

John Zerzan answers liberal columnist Chris Hedges who charges the Black Bloc has "hi-jacked" the Occupy Movement.

BY JOHN ZERZAN

On February 6, progressive columnist Chris Hedges wrote a fairly predictable attack on Black Bloc militancy, "The Cancer in Occupy," in Truthdig, the on-line news site.

It voiced, in general, the perspective of the liberal-moderate-reformist folks who have been mostly predominant in Occupy. Hedges' screed against anarchists and others who "go too far" shows just what anti-authoritarians have been up against and why so few of them, in my experience, have been interested in Occupy.

Of course, the Occupy sites were many and varied, it must be added, some of which included strong anarchist participation.

Hedges counsels that if everyone behaves, then Occupy will continue to succeed, obviously exaggerating the potency of the movement so far. He advocates voting, property-respecting, obey-the-rules-of-the-game—unless he's talking about somewhere else. He has lauded rioting and resistance in

Greece, for example.

His "Cancer" essay is full of gaffes and bloopers, e.g., I am a big voice of Black Bloc, anarchists are full of "a repellent cynicism," etc. It has been critiqued by many, including Peter Genderloos, magpie, and Bobby Whittenberg-James. I wish to add only a couple of things that have been less developed, or not mentioned by other commentators.

Hedges finds it scandalous that Green Anarchy magazine published a brief article years ago (GA #5, Spring 2001) criticizing the Zapatista EZLN from an anarchist perspective. As an editor of GA at the time, I recall that we weren't thrilled by the piece, but we ran it in the interest of provoking discussion. Hedges is evidently not in favor of open discussion, and neither was the EZLN, which sent us a rather angry response (GA #8, Spring 2002).

If it is scandalous to think critically about what is going on in Chiapas, it is worse to fail to learn from the evidence, from the record. Over the years I've seen enthusiasm for

national liberation-type movements, widely and loudly expressed, but fade into silence when such movements became governments or political parties. Do I see this happening in southernmost Mexico? I hope not. Do I support their struggles? Certainly.

But a certain silence has set in, and questions emerge. Remember when Subcomandante Marcos renounced his urban, leftist, intellectual past and embraced indigeneity as the necessary realm of authenticity? Given the recent past of the EZLN, it seems like a long time ago.

In 2005, the Sixth Declaration was proclaimed by the Clandestine Revolutionary Indigenous Committees—General Command of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation. Except for the one word, does any of this hyper-bureaucratic-sounding mouthful seem remotely indigenous? And, within this document, there are references to "our Mexico," "our Patria."

Is nationalism indigenous? How about

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Zerzan

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such slippery terms or phrases as “The Other Campaign,” or “we govern by obeying?” Similarly, “building another way of doing politics, for a program of the Left and for a new constitution”?

For a leftist like Hedges, it is forbidden to wonder about the direction or nature of the EZLN.

But the bulk of “The Cancer of Occupy” consists of quotes from Derrick Jensen (described on one of his many books as, “Hailed as the philosopher poet of the ecology movement”), who was once an enemy of civilization. Jensen’s opening announcement in Hedge’s article is that “what they [Black Bloc types] are really doing is destroying the Occupy movement.”

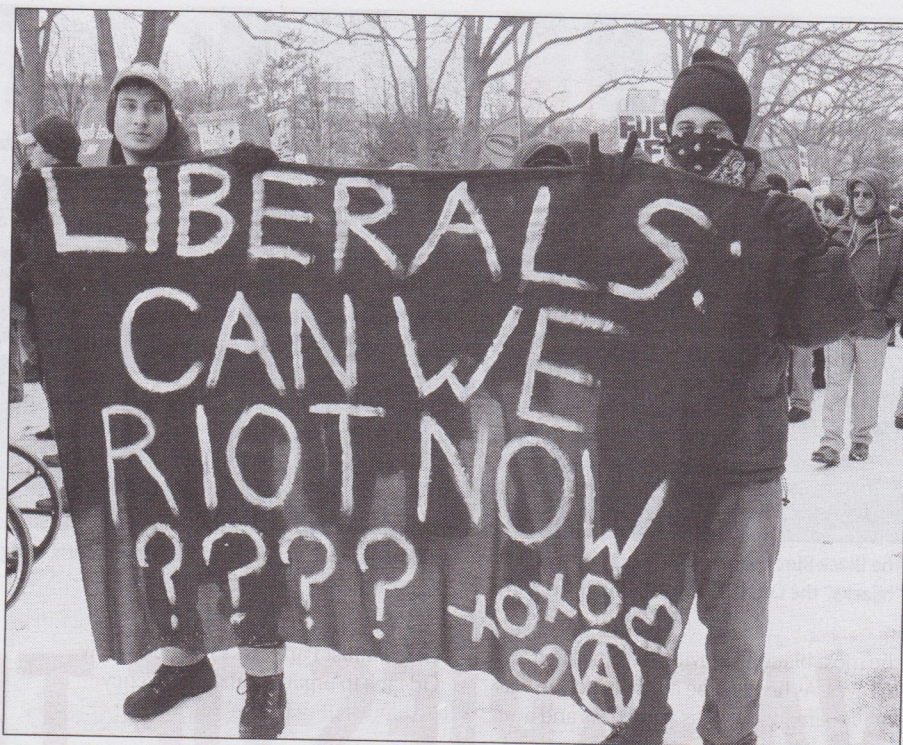
In this, he seems to echo Hedges’ charge that BB tactics are not only inappropriate, they are “criminal.” With his complete intolerance of criticism, Jensen had already cut ties with anarchists. Not “officially,” but he’s made it pretty clear to many.

“I can’t stand those people,” he wrote in a recent letter to an organic farmer referring to anarchists. It took a few years, but he now seems to be hardly distinguishable from a liberal. The anti-civ bit is a distant memory, used very occasionally, qualified and tamed. Speaking of tamed, Jensen never seemed to grasp that civilization starts from domestication. Can’t remember him ever using that word.

It is, of course, nothing short of bizarre that Deep Green Resistance, a Jensen spin-off, calls for the physical destruction of the industrial and fossil fuel infrastructure, while Jensen recoils in shock and horror from BB militancy. DGR has been an attractive idea to some precisely because it is “heavy,” portends real action against the machine.

When the tactical formations of young people freak out Jensen, one cannot miss the irony: he calls for felonious arsons and bombings in a DGR supplement to the *Earth First! Journal*!, but Black Bloc is too much (??).

DGR projects and at least one of Derrick’s recent books are subsidized by the Wallace Fund; that’s when things get really bizarre. Major funders of NPR, and named for Henry Wallace (former U.S. Vice-President under FDR and 1948 Presidential candidate of



Is it only liberals who oppose rioting? Is trashing a legitimate tactic under certain circumstances or under any? Does it only serve to give the cops an excuse to attack demos? Are those who oppose it holding back the militancy needed for a revolutionary movement? Write us a letter or message.

the CP-backed Progressive Party), the Fund cannot exactly be counted among anarchist or anti-civ forces!

The strategic thinking that Jensen counsels means, I guess, that the DGR will direct the resistance, not undisciplined anarchists. I heard his DGR cohort Lierre Keith speak last year, and in a similar vein, she expressed contempt for ELF and ALF folks, and their disrespect for authority in general. They would be welcome, however, she said in as many words, as cannon fodder for the DGR authorities, who think like “field generals.” I’m not making this up.

In his column, Hedges states: “Black Bloc adherents detest those of us on the organized left.” I do detest leftists like Hedges, for obvious reasons. Mainly because they are anti-radical and hence, anti-anarchist. That’s obvious to me. What should also be obvious is how movements or individuals slide into what should not be acceptable.

A few days after his “Cancer” piece appeared — and a furor ensued — Hedges gave an interview to try to calm the waters in the February 9 *Truthdig*. Here he admitted that it is anti-civilization and anti-Left ideas, more than the Black Bloc, that really set him off. As well they should!

That colossal failure known as the Left has always been a bulwark of civilization and all of its horrors. The Left has reason to fear that which means its definitive end.

It should come as no big surprise, given Hedges’ progressive orientation, that he opposes anti-civ ideas. Just as it shouldn’t be a big jolt to know that Noam Chomsky is similarly exercised by those who question such primary institutions as domestication, civilization, industrialism and mass society — which is fast leading to disaster in every sphere, at every level. And now neither should it be big news that Derrick Jensen is more and more a part of the Left and its basic acquiescence in this nightmare in which we live.

I was at the beginning of a 3-week group speaking tour in India when the Hedges piece broke. Let me add, perhaps as an antidote to Hedges and Jensen, that there are now anarchist groups in India, apparently for the first time.

The February visit was my third in the past four years and broke new ground—this time the venues were mostly in the South. To learn more about the tour see anhilaal.com, the website for the anti-civ, anti-work, anti-career network in South Asia. ■

Occupy

From page 12

Occupy dismisses as a hopeless remnant of the discredited, zombie Left. Someone called the approach that he and a few others follow "authoritarian Communism." That's partly, but not entirely, accurate. Some of the people who advocate such policies are themselves authoritarian Communists, but the policies they advocate are watered-down social democracy at best, and, at worst, not much more than tepid liberalism.

We are not the idiots that this sectarian and similar people think we are. He depicts us as naïve fools who have no connection to the realities of oppressed people.

We are not the ones who are naïve fools. His ideology prevents him from recognizing even the most blatantly obvious realities in front of his eyes. As he must be aware (since he was often there), numerous anarchists and anti-authoritarians, for example, have participated in dozens of protests and marches against the destruction of public housing.

For a long time after Hurricane Katrina, the majority of participants in marches and protests defending public housing were anarchists and anti-authoritarians, coming especially from the huge number of volunteers of the Common Ground Collective in the first several years after the storm.

We did not march and protest because we thought the substandard, undemocratic, oppressive housing provided by the authoritarian state is suitable for dignified human beings, for our neighbors and fellow-citizens. We marched and protested because we realized that the state and capitalism were engaged in a virulent form of racist ethnic cleansing of New Orleans.

As bad as public housing is, the state and capitalism had even worse things in mind for poor and minority people. We are not as stupid as this sectarian assumes. We are quite capable of seeing a glaringly obvious evil and working to resist it.

The same sectarian had shown up at a panel on housing at the Worker Cooperative Conference held here in New Orleans in 2008. His sole purpose for coming was to complain that by promoting co-operative housing we were propping up capitalism.

It was the same story—you're idiots, wasting your time if you don't follow our Party Line. Panel-member and longtime

community organizer, Malik Rahim, replied by saying that he didn't believe in public housing. Which is the right position. Statist housing has to be turned into community-controlled housing.

Of course, we'll work with and defend public housing residents in order to fight racism and oppression, but we also see beyond the limitations of statist housing. Malik long ago participated in an action that showed the correct direction for public housing to take. When the police opened fired on him and other Black Panthers in the Desire Projects in 1970 five thousand community residents blocked the police. They occupied their own community. Pseudo-"public" state control needs to be replaced by direct community control.

In the post-oil spill period in 2011, we had a strong, bitter taste of how sectarian manipulation works. The Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) came to New Orleans to organize an "Emergency Committee" that for a long time specialized mainly in recruiting for the RCP, raising funds that were not collected or distributed locally, and adopting statements to read to a usually non-existent press during increasingly miniscule demonstrations.

At the first post-oil spill assembly, a local RCP apparatchik dominated the meeting in order to guide it into following a predetermined sectarian agenda. When one group member objected that there should be more emphasis on long-term local health issues rather than just debating and adopting formal statements, he denounced her as "unprincipled."

When another woman who was working with coastal communities was silenced on similar issues, she gave up and walked out of the meeting, only to be similarly condemned. It's striking how often such manipulation targets women, partly on the assumption that women will cede power more easily, but also because women tend to focus on more non-instrumentalist concerns.

The RCP's choice of words, though harsh and cruel, was in a certain sense accurate. A sense to which he was completely oblivious. The Greek word for "principle" is "arche" and the women who objected to his domineering tactics were being "an-archic." They were rejecting abstract and manipulative "principles" for the sake of the welfare of real communities of people.

At the recent General Assembly meeting, one newly-arrived sectarian tried to convince

us that the Occupy Movement is becoming irrelevant because it hasn't followed some zombiesque sectarian agenda with a list of "demands." Another critic chimed in, invoking the anti-slavery movement as an example of a movement with demands.

But the overriding demand of the anti-slavery movement was the abolition of slavery. Its demand was not that slaveholders should provide slightly better housing for the slaves who toiled for them. The main demand of the strong anti-capitalist faction of the Occupy Movement is the abolition of the system, not that the state provide some inadequate housing to the slaves of capitalism.

Our critic probably doesn't know it, since we haven't seen him for months, but OccupyNOLA has been disrupting property auctions in which people's houses are being seized and sold.

Disrupting auctions is making a very concrete demand: that the city stop seizing people's houses and selling them. Stopping an auction by direct action is a much more powerful expression of demands than RCP-style adoption of statements ad nauseam followed by press conferences to read them ad nauseam.

Do not let authoritarian statist take over Occupy and destroy its radically participatory, anti-hierarchical structure. Remember the fact that Occupy is a "floating signifier." There is no given "essence" of Occupy. We, the participants, make it what it is, and what it will be.

There are many anti-authoritarian, anti-hierarchical, participatory, horizontalist elements to work with that offer tremendous potential to make Occupy something of great historical importance. Another crucial aspect of Occupy is its capacity to function as a "transitional object." For all its enormous potential, Occupy's amorphous form and ambiguities create certain limits.

We can, however, work to push Occupy to its liberatory limits and then move on to a new level of historical development.

But we must remember that the price of liberty really is eternal vigilance. There's no room for slacktivism. The vampires of revolution, RCP, Workers World, the ISO, and other groups, are always ready to pounce.

We can be one part Dada, but we also have to be one part Durruti. All power to the imagination—along with iron discipline in solidarity with the community. ■

Return to Liberty Square

Occupy Wall Street, the COOLS, and the Cultural Resistance of Story Telling

BY BENJAMIN SHEPARD

Early this year, people involved with the Occupy Wall Street movement in New York City started talking about the COOLS, the Cultural Occupation of Liberty Square. The point was to get as many people possible back into Zuccotti Park, dubbed Liberty Square, where the movement began. The police carried out a mass eviction from the lower Manhattan park in November.

This effort was not as much about recreating anything from Occupy's origin last fall as keeping the conversation going, keeping the stories of resistance moving forward into different directions. To ground these conversations, we needed public spaces to remain open, specifically Liberty Square serving as our commons. Like the Agora in Greek city spaces, Liberty Square would serve as our gathering space.

Each day at lunchtime, a different writer, storyteller, academic, or movement person is invited to take part in the COOLS. Recently, I was invited to speak about the top five achievements over the last 25 years of AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, better known as ACT UP. A few older veteran ACT UP folks showed up, as did three younger AIDS activists involved with transgender and international AIDS work, two members of the Occupy Farms working group, as well as two older men involved with Occupy from



Photo: Fedele Spadafora

Demonstrator at a May Day demonstration in Tunis, Tunisia holding an English language sign. The Fifth Estate first publicized the slogan but stole it from Terry Southern's *The Magic Christian*.

the very beginning. Working within Paulo Friere's popular education model, we shared information about ACT UP and its zap on Wall Street a quarter century ago.

The strength of the session grew out of the willingness of COOLS participants to share what they knew with each other, so we could all learn something. Some coming to the COOLS turn their sessions into didactic teach-ins or lectures. This misses the point that we are extending a conversation.

Some weeks, these conversations link the lessons of the Feminist Sex Wars of the 1980s with debates about safer spaces in

throw seed bombs into fenced off vacant lots which could become community gardens.

The conversations at the COOLS take countless forms and directions. At their root, each had to do with questions about public assembly, freedom of expression, autonomy of bodies, social relations and our imaginations. We addressed the question of how can we add more voices and tactics to the movement, rather than attempting to stifle or censor those which we find objectionable.

On March 18, we marched from the COOLS to Judson Memorial Church in Greenwich Village, where the southern

"Occupy public space. Reclaim democracy. Enjoy the show. We're all part of the show."

the movement. Hopefully, we can learn the lessons of the linkage of censorship with feminism, while supporting fierce defense of public sexual culture with self determination and autonomy. Other sessions involve debates about the diversity of tactics stretching back to the days of broken windows at the WTO demonstration in Seattle in 1999. Another session involved the history of May Day and general strikes.

Sometimes we meet at Zuccotti just to dance.

On other occasions, we took bike rides to

Freedom Riders departed from a half century ago, and Occupiers crashed after their eviction from Zuccotti Park in November of last year. The church hosted a theater festival + direct action + housing rights education/outreach event titled, Occupy the Empty Space in its main hall, recently the venue for the annual New York anarchist book fair. This free event included 15 new plays and eight teach-ins by activist groups, including The National Lawyer's Guild, Time's Up!, Picture the Homeless, Queer Rising, and others.

Sarah Duncan, a playwright and one of the ►►

organizers of the event, explained the idea behind the title: “[It] came from the Peter Brook book, *The Empty Space*. But really, it’s fitting on more than a theatrical level. Space is so valuable these days, and yet it is often abandoned or wasted.”

“In NYC there is a ‘lack of space,’ or so it seems.” She said, “but really, there is plenty of it. Apartments, parking lots, all sorts of shelter and open areas, but they’ve been purchased by large corporations who aren’t doing anything with their real estate except separating valuable resources from those who need it.”

After all, the best activism is theater. Judson is a space where performers have long taken their theater to the streets, restaging what life could be like in New York City. We’ve had villains such as Robert Moses, a reckless “master builder” taken on by heroes such as Jane Jacobs, known for organizing grassroots efforts to block urban-renewal projects that would have destroyed local neighborhoods, the Freedom Riders, and ACT UP launched from there. Each advocated the need for a different kind of stage, in which everyone has a voice, not just those with the access to power and money. Occupy the Empty Space continues this tradition.

“What attracted me to the occupy movement, initially, was its horizontal nature,” noted Kate Foster, playwright and the other organizer of Occupy the Empty Space.”

“There was no climb,” she said, “there was no pyramid of who was in charge. Everyone had the power and the capability to make something happen. Sarah and I have taken that model, a model for a leader-full movement, and applied it to the theatrical process. How can we celebrate everyone? How can we stay non-commercial and still selective? How can we be selective and equally inclusive? It’s a valuable conversation to have, not in just in terms of this event, but in the larger context of the theatre community and entertainment industry.”

In December 2011, I met Duncan when we took part in Occupy Broadway, a 24-hour outdoor theater festival on which Occupy the Empty Space was modeled. The city’s artists introduced tourists and New Yorkers going to Broadway shows or shopping themselves into debt to the idea of occupation as creative resistance with non-stop, free performances.

We set up in a privately owned public space (POPS) near Times Square, turning once blandified space into ones for cultural production. These POPS, 503 public spaces at 320 buildings, are where builders are granted waivers by the city to erect many additional floors above original smaller structures.

With the push to tramp on our rights of assembly, public space, and by extension democracy itself, the point of Occupy Broadway and the Empty Space was to join a global struggle using occupation as a form of creative resistance. Occupy Broadway was a symbolic attempt to regain the space of theatre as an accessible, popular art form, bringing it back to where it all started; in a public space, for the common person.

We are using public space to create a more colorful image of what our streets could look like, with public performances, art, and music. Through this movement, New York re-imagines itself as a work of art, rather than a retail shopping mall. With capitalism gone mad, foreclosures increasing, and bank crises consuming whole communities, we are signaling through the flames that there is another way of living.

Our slogan is simple. “Occupy public space. Reclaim democracy. Enjoy the show. We’re all part of the show! Get off the sidelines and break through the fourth wall.” ■

Corvid College: Public Fire

Anarchy goes to college and no debt when you leave.

BY BJORN GAY

Forty-two years ago, philosopher Ivan Illich wrote, “I also believe that the end of the ‘age of schooling’ could usher in the epoch of a global schoolhouse that would be distinguishable only in name from a global madhouse or a global prison in which education, correction, and adjustment became synonymous.”

Illich’s nightmare may seem far off in its more Orwellian overtones, but there was a basis of truth in his words and they have come to fruition. Education, perhaps more than any other institutional sector, reveals this truth in a manner that is as undeniable as it is deplorable.

Nearly two and a half years ago, I co-founded, Corvid, an anarchic* college in the Boston/Cambridge/Somerville area as a direct response to the basis of truth in Illich’s quote. Put bluntly, the road to the monocultural, global prison-school-factory/Black Iron Prison was paved by way of the information superhighway, and what Corvid College defined itself against was what Peter Lamborn Wilson terms Technopathocracy, that is, the rule of sick machines.

We did not arrive in this dismal place because of the Cold War or the George Bushes, 9/11, or the internet, nor any of the other images or trademarks that work in the service of History. We find ourselves here because of the way in which these vacant signifiers interlock to form the barren wasteland that is the “integrated Spectacle,” a worldview that only permits vicarious living while simultaneously oppressing the imagination and dictating what sensations are permitted.

The problem lies with us; in our failure to recognize how the technology we use manipulates us, and similarly, in mistaking words for the things they represent. It is in these ways that our routines and behaviors have come to betray our most personal freedoms.

See CORVID, page 18

* As opposed to the more definitive “anarchist,” the term “anarchic” was adopted so as to illustrate our commitment to anti-authoritarianism beyond any prefabricated theoretical constraints. That is, in addition to Goldman, Kropotkin, and Proudhon, we wanted Rabelais, Nietzsche, and Bugs Bunny in our educational pantheon.



Corvid

From page 17

The point as it regards education is illustrated in a remark that Beat artist Brion Gysin made concerning the transmission of occultism through the ages: "Magical training can only be passed through the touching of hands."

The teachers with whom I co-founded Corvid College are committed to a life of being with others, a life of sharing, be it the sharing of knowledge and desires, time and space, laughs and memories, or simply books and wine.

In their continued distortion under Capitalism, "teaching" and "learning" were, we agreed, more refined means of social reproduction and oppression than the convivial way of life we knew them to be, thus, we revolted against them.

United by a shared passion for sharing knowledge in person, as well as good food

and wine, the ex-professor from Montana, an Italian economic thinker, and myself (at the time a Harvard Divinity School student) began our experiment in education and unalienated our labor from the Megamachine.

What we immediately learned was that the degradation, bureaucratization, and outright betrayal of education by the institutions who claimed to be working in their service were not isolated occupational injustices, but personal affronts, as they barred our own ability to conceptualize and enact liberation as we once knew it, if only in moments and flashes.

The previous, negative inspiration for Corvid College was not even half the picture when it came to discerning the value of alternative education. Far exceeding any critique of capitalism, Corvid College's significance is to be found in the ludic quality of the pursuit.

As the classes are organized on the principle of voluntary association, there are no grades or requirements to coerce students, and each class is free to mirror (or

Is this a class? It is at Corvid College.

more accurately, existentially interpret) the subject around which it is organized.

Like proto-"bolos", or budding tribal units, the removal of the institution in education allowed for the spontaneous blossoming of a natural anthropology, a sort of affinity group structure, which replicated the form and content of the topics being explored.

The Situationist reading group issued "pro-situ" propaganda (even if they would never use that term) for their urban interventions and drifts, the William Burroughs class made cut-ups of not simply the Bible and Shakespeare, but the idea of Corvid College itself, and the Art of Traveling Class roamed the winter wastelands of Cambridge only to be arrested as trespassers one fateful evening.

To quote a teacher at the San Francisco branch (co-founded six months ago), Corvid College is "a very simple idea" and as such very easy to duplicate. Named after the Corvidae, the family of birds that includes crows and ravens, It is diversely social without being hierarchical. ►►

- Unlike the “hassle castles” of institutional education, the college is nothing more than a group of like-minded individuals who are dedicated to sharing what they know or what they want to know with others.

We do not require any degrees to teach, nor any credentials to join a class nor offer diplomas; however, in place of the latter we have Corvid College patches and the “privilege of scars.”

We do not have a secretary, registrar, or dean, and all of the teachers handle their own students and economics. To give you an idea, when approached by someone who wants to donate to Corvid College, all I can tell them is that there is no “College” to donate to, only teachers or students, and that they are free to give the money as they like.

In fact, some classes do not even have teachers, but are composed of individuals

**...there is no “College”
to donate to, only
teachers or students,
and that they are free
to give the money as
they like.**

who have gathered together to pool their knowledge on a particular subject and search out “experts” only when needed.

To speak quickly about economics, there is no policy in place and while a number of teachers in both the Boston and San Francisco flocks teach for free, others are convinced that money often acts as short-hand for commitment and in asking for a nominal sum one is actually receiving a promise of attendance.

My personal favorite mode of payment, along with I.O.U.s and barter, is what we have come to term “reverse bribery.” Following the idea of a student, “reverse bribery” is when a teacher charges a lump sum at the beginning of the first class and upon the completion of each progressive class returns a fraction of the funds to the student so by the time two-thirds of the class was finished, the student had all of her money returned.

And, if the student did not show up, then

her money was used on snacks and drinks. But, enough about money.

One more thing, as there is a slogan that the ex-professor from Montana likes to say concerning the topic: as an old book teaches, the love of money is the root of evil, and that means you should, of course, not love it, but by the same token it does not deserve the energy it takes to hate it.

I will conclude by explaining the significance of our experiment in education being as enjoyable as it was unfettered. The first class I was involved in I co-taught with another of the founders on “The Coming Insurrection.”

I was unprepared for the stark fact that everything that has come to be understood as necessary for a college, like class rooms, dry-erase boards, grades, tuition, and bureaucrats, are expendable and are, more importantly, to be recognized as obstacles that detract from the simple pleasure of intentional conversation. tarding from the first principle of convivial association, Corvid College was able to assess what is truly needed to learn, namely, people who are interested.

From there, we began to recognize the most helpful teaching aids: wine, natural lighting like a sunset or a candle, and library books. Beginning from here, Corvid was able to grow according to pleasures and guided by curiosities.

Ignored or rejected by mainstream media, we were free to carry on as an association of “self-owning ones” and with classes ranging from “How to write Queer Smut” to Cyberpunk to The “Punk Philosophy” of Spinoza, we soon began cross-pollinating the counter-cultures in our expanding psychogeographic domain.

The dissimilarities between Corvid and a conventional college are important, for in the distance between each of the criteria, in addition to the criteria themselves, lies the evidence of the pleasure to be found in experimentations in anti-authoritarian living.

It is our birthright as homo ludens to enjoy the fruits of our labor while they are still ripe. So, join us at our fecund, educational orchard or feast elsewhere.

Whichever, we hope to see you with crimson lips, flush cheeks, and fire in your bellies at the occupations. ■

Corvid College San Francisco
CorvidCollegeSF.com

About the college

Name

The word corvid is a name applied to the Corvidae, the family of birds that includes crows, ravens, jays, magpies and jackdaws. The name symbolizes the non-hierarchical and diversely social nature of Corvid College.

History

Corvid College was founded in Boston in the fall of 2009 in Boston. A new branch sprouted in San Francisco in the winter of 2011.

Philosophy

Corvid is a ‘self-managed in spirit, horizontal in structure,’ ongoing experiment in educational pedagogy, content, and structure. Corvid uses the college model as well as monetary exchange (as opposed to other educational processes like the freeschool or the skillshare group) to encourage sustained student commitment in a model of education as self-cultivation.

Economic Distinctives

Unlike free schools, Corvid courses are not usually offered gratis. Prices are determined by the instructors and students on a flexible, sliding scale with the possibility for barter instead of money exchange and no potential student is turned away from participating in a course for lack of funds.

Course Offerings

What is taught, how, and where is determined by teacher expertise and student demand. In theory, any topic may be taught for any price so long as a teacher and their students agree to it. “Hoedowns” in which students and teachers congregate, socialize, and discuss potential course offerings inaugurate each upcoming term. Previous course offerings have included: Street Art, Philosophy as a Way of Life, Magic: the Gathering, Cover Fire: A Survey of Blackouts, The Wild Within Us and Speculative Fiction, amongst others.

G20 GENDER VIOLENCE

Police Attacks at the 2010 Toronto Demonstrations Targeted Women

BY KELLY ROSE PFLUG-BACK

Under the Canadian Criminal code, violence is not defined as a gendered issue. When a girl or woman is physically or sexually attacked, the act is subsumed under sections 244-246, which define assault with a weapon, aggravated assault, sexual assault and aggravated sexual assault.

Removed from their social and historical context, acts of violence against women appear to be a spontaneous phenomenon whose perpetrators lack any definite motivation besides anger or lack of self control. This lack of context also removes political accountability from the social norms and legislature that enable gender-motivated violence.

For example, although women are a recognizable group that is at risk of a disproportionate degree of physical and sexual violence as well as myriad forms of more subtle prejudice and domination, crimes against women are not included in Canada's hate crime legislation. Significantly, transsexual and gender-variant people are also not included in this legislation despite their social marginality and the comparatively extreme degree of prejudice-motivated violence perpetrated against them.

The laws, conventions, and systems of governance delineated in the Canadian Constitution were drafted by property-owning, male-bodied white colonists in the 17-1800's who wished to serve their own interests and preserve their privilege. Women initially had the same legal status as children or wards of the state, and reforms for the rights of women are something that has been hard won through activism and public pressure rather than offered obligingly by the state. While laws can be reformed to be more egalitarian, in a hierarchical society their interpretation and enforcement will still remain subject to the biases and whims of elites.

Throughout the months surrounding the G20 summit in Toronto, the public had seen political dissent repressed and criminalized in different ways. Hundreds of protesters and civilian bystanders were arrested on insubstantial charges and detained in a massive, makeshift concentration facility without adequate access to food, water, medical treatment or the right to speak to a lawyer.

Many detainees were racially, economically or otherwise profiled, intimidated, brutalized, harassed, threatened, and subsequently traumatized. While a tellingly large percent of G20 charges were immediately dismissed, other arrestees, including this writer, still face pending charges and live in the shadow of court dates, bail conditions and visits from law enforcement and surveillance officials.

During the public discourse that followed, there was much outcry among the radical community and the general populace regarding police brutality, the criminalization of dissent and the increasing militarization of Canadian law enforcement. One shortcoming in these dialogues was the failure to identify specific forms of police violence as being motivated by the victim's gender or gender expression.

Numerous public allegations arose from women, queer people,

A history of sexual violence

The United Nations currently lists four types of sexual violence that are described as being specific to times of war.

- **Genocidal rape:** a dominating group or army forcibly inseminates women of a conquered population with the goal of genetically destroying their ethnic or political group, as in the case of Rwanda or the Balkans. Genocidal rape may also be carried out with the goal of destroying family solidarity and realigning loyalties in future generations.
- **Forced concubinage:** female prisoners of war are held as sexual slaves for soldiers and militia, such as in the case of the 200,000 to 400,000 women prisoners from Korea, the Philippines, China and Holland who were interned by the Japanese during WWII.
- **Opportunistic rape:** men take advantage of the breakdown of order to commit increased violence against women.
- **Political rape:** sexual violence is used to punish, terrorize and demoralize members of a political group or movement.

and trans people who had been subject to sexual assault, repeated involuntary strip searches, threats of gang rape, demeaning language and other forms of violence from male police officers and prison guards. However, these violations were often simply crowded under general umbrella terms of assault, harassment and intimidation.

The sexual violence we saw perpetrated against women and gender variant people during the G20 was more than just another component in the larger apparatus of police brutality. It was also part of a historical trend that is common in stratified, patriarchal societies: sexual violence being used as a tool of terror and political repression in times of war or internal social unrest.

During times of political and social conflict, gender inequality typically becomes magnified. Violence is normalized and encouraged among soldiers and militia, and the social or legal consequences of violence often dissolve. Propaganda techniques and public violence are used to dehumanize targeted political, ethnic, or religious groups and effectively justify their continued slaughter and persecution.

Women who belong to these target groups inevitably find a second tier of objectification added to what they already face on the basis of their gender. Violence against women during times of conflict is often seen as a property crime geared towards punishing the male population.

Documentation of rape being used as a weapon of war dates back almost as far as the advent of militarized patriarchal society itself. While it is essential that we have specific definitions of what sexualized political and military violence look like, defining these types of sexual violence as being specific to situations of literal war undermines the use of rape as a weapon of political violence in more bureaucratic, structural forms of social conflict. For example, women and trans

- ▶ people who work in the sex trade in Canada (particularly on the street level), suffer a grotesquely high incidence of sexual assault and murder.

This violence is perpetuated by legislation which criminalizes sex work and social mores which stigmatize it. Such assaults are condoned (and sometimes perpetrated) by law enforcement officials who belittle, ignore, or even invert allegations of rape against sex workers as well as courts who rarely convict perpetrators.

The disproportionately high incidence of rape against sex workers combined with the criminalization of their lifestyles and the Canadian state's refusal to protect them all point to one unfortunate conclusion. Through direct and structural means, our society is using sexual violence as a weapon of class war against women who belong to an undesirable economic minority.

Similarly, the U.S. military is rarely accused of having perpetrated forced concubinage regardless of the American bases it occupies in the Philippines, Korea, and Japan which collaborates with brothels and government officials to permit the sexual exploitation of women in order to "keep morale high" for soldiers. Clinics were set up to test and monitor women for sexually transmitted diseases and provide them with "sexual health" identification cards stating that they did not carry STDs. However, these women were not provided with sexual health education, birth control, or any form of contraceptive.

In the Philippines, roughly 50,000 children have been fathered by U.S. soldiers over the past five decades. While these women were not physically kidnapped and interned like the "comfort women" held in Japan's rape camps, their sexual servitude can not be considered consensual when they were forced into it by economic necessity, political pressure, or false pretences such as job advertisements stating that they would be working as "waitresses" or "entertainers."

The UN's outline of types of war rape also fails to recognize the increased incidence of violence and abuse which happens endemically in communities, often for generations after war or colonization has ended. In situations where sexual violence is commonplace, traumatized individuals will sometimes be more likely to abuse others as well as themselves.

Regardless of their scale, context, and the types of weapons used (military or bureaucratic), most social and political conflicts house an unrecognized war inside the more visible body of turmoil. In this unseen war, sexual violence is the main weapon used by males of one political, economic, cultural, or ethnic group against the generally unarmed, politically disempowered female civilians of another.

When examining a situation such as police brutality during Toronto's G20 mass arrests, it is important to acknowledge the gendered nature of the violence that occurred. While Canada's legal definitions of physical and sexual assault serve to depoliticize gendered violence, much of the public discourse that surrounded Toronto's police brutality has served to de-gender political violence.

In order to deal with the trauma of sexual violence during the G20, communities must come together to recognize its specific political implications. While these crimes were invariably acts of hatred towards women, girls, and gender variant people, the individuals who were directly harassed and assaulted were not the only desired targets.

Many of these incidents of sexual violence were relatively public and were designed to convey a message to everyone who participated in the protests or disagreed in any way with the goals and values of the world's elite nations whose representatives gathered in Toronto. The assaults and threats were a public demonstration of domination and control, effectively terrorizing the public into complying with future demands and expectations sought by the state.

While the city's mainstream and grassroots media alike were flooded for weeks with images of riot police beating or intimidating protesters and bystanders, little attention was given to the long term aftermath of sexual trauma that has surely caused immeasurable pain in families, communities, and relationships for an indefinite amount of time after the burning police cruisers, rubber bullets and riot shields have lost appeal as conversation topics.

In order for state-perpetrated sexual violence to be dealt with and stopped, it must first be brought to public knowledge in a global context as well as within current local issues. The full extent of its negative impact must be defined by those who have been most drastically affected by it.

Until we end gendered violence across the board, no socially conscious person should be a civilian in the war against women's and trans people's oppression.

And, until we dismantle the structures of militarization, capitalism, and colonization that render women vulnerable to increased violence, no female identified person should be a civilian in the war against global inequality. ■

Read more

Cops v. Cops. A police review board finds that the Toronto cops violated rights, turn to page 44

Call For Submissions: Education Fifth Estate Fall 2012

Deadline: August 1

Publication date: September 5

Fall is the traditional time when students resume their studies. At present, there are tuition strikes, austerity strikes, student loan debt crises, and other dilemmas regarding education playing out in the public arena. For much of mainstream society, even the very value and meaning of education is now in question.

The last Fifth Estate dealing with the topics of education, unschooling, and knowledge, was our Fall 2004 issue, so the

moment seems ripe to revisit these topics from an array of perspectives. The education back issue is available for \$4 at our web site; use the Donate button.

Your ideas for suggested news articles, essays, and art are welcome. Please submit manuscripts for short pieces and proposals for longer essays, along with graphics and photographs to: **Fifth Estate, PO Box 201016, Ferndale, MI 48220, USA** Or submit online at fe@fifthestate.org Please put "Submission 388" on the email subject line.

Snitch Gets a Reduced Term

Another Prison Sentence in Marie Mason Case

BY JOHN F. ROYAL

Snitching by Frank Ambrose, Marie Mason's ex-husband, has claimed another victim—Detroit's Jesse Waters.

For Ambrose's continuing service to the government in the prosecution of environmental activists, he has received another reduction in his nine year sentence for the same crime of arson which has Mason imprisoned for 22 years as a result of his providing information and cooperating with the government against her.

Ambrose is now expected to be released in 2013. Mason's release date is 2031.

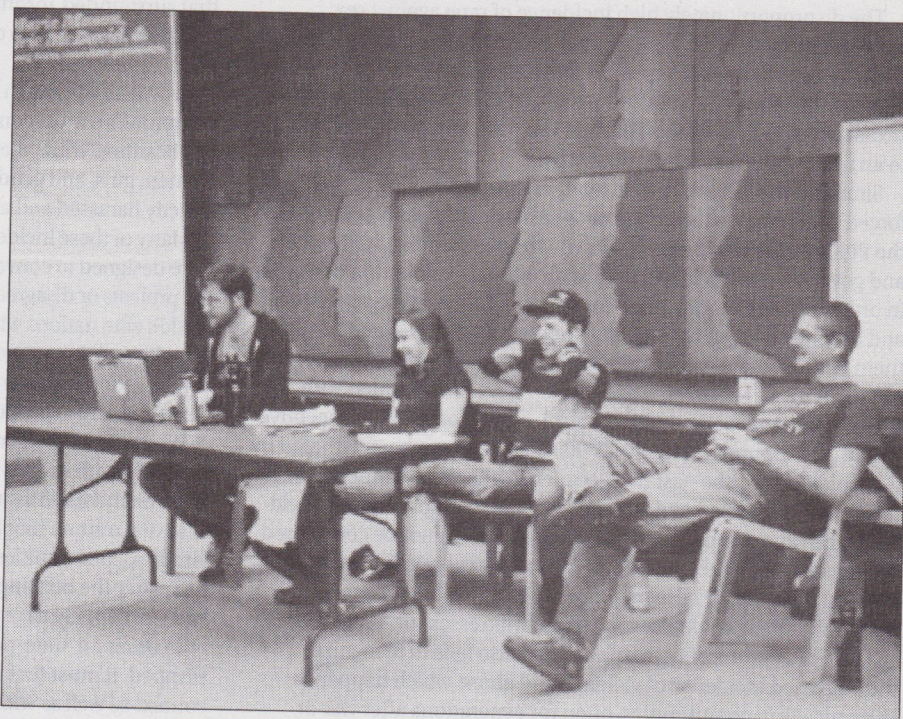
In 2007, the Michigan FBI began investigating five people, including Ambrose, Mason, and Waters, for involvement in two incidents of eco-sabotage attributed by the government to the Earth Liberation Front (ELF).

First, the arson of a GMO lab at Michigan State University in East Lansing on New Year's Eve 1999; and, second, the arson of logging equipment in Mesick, Mich. the following day. I began representing Waters in October, 2007 as a project of the Michigan/Detroit Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG).

Jesse was ultimately indicted only for the arson of the logging equipment the day before the ten year Statute of Limitations expired. The indictment was then sealed for 14 months. After the indictment was unsealed, a number of NLG attorneys and law students assisted me in researching and drafting several pre-trial motions in Jesse's case.

Hagen Frank, the government Assistant U.S. Attorney handling the prosecution of Jesse's case made an offer to permit him to plead guilty to a reduced charge.

Jesse and I met several times to discuss this, after which he decided to accept it. In September 2011, he appeared in Grand Rapids federal court and pleaded guilty to one count of Misdemeanor of a Felony, the felony being the arson at the MSU building. Misdemeanor of a Felony is an old common law crime that prohibits helping to cover up a crime, and failing to report it to government authorities.



The Never Alone national tour hit 30 cities in April, speaking to hundreds about long-term anarchist prisoner support. It focused on the cases of Eric McDavid and Marie Mason, using multimedia presentations and included strategizing about how to effectively encourage a culture of resistance and support. Above, from the left, Jason, Jenny, Ian, and released political prisoner, Jeff "Free" Luers at a tour stop at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Ore., April 26. Photo from becausewemust.org. The tour raised nearly \$7,000 after expenses which will be split between McDavid and Mason support groups. To offer support, donate, or get information about the cases, go to supporteric.org and supportmariemason.org. Info on the tour at <http://neveralonetour.wordpress.com>.

The original charges against him were dismissed.

Jesse's decision to accept this plea was not an easy one. This is a non-cooperation plea. He has not participated in any de-briefings with government agents, and will not assist the government in any way in any investigation of environmental activists. The case against Jesse was not very strong. The main government witness at trial would have been Ambrose, who became a professional government "cooperating witness." Ambrose was the main witness against his ex-wife Mason and two other associates.

In 2007, Ambrose decided to get rid of documents and equipment associated with the Earth Liberation Front (ELF), but instead of shredding and destroying the evidence, he packaged the items up neatly in boxes and deposited them in a suburban Detroit dumpster. An employee of the business that owned the dumpster noticed the boxes, looked at the contents, which included writings by Ambrose, a gas mask, an M-80 explosive, and other of his possessions.

The local police were called who notified the FBI, which used the information to obtain a search warrant for Ambrose's house, and

► seized his computer. The computer contained substantial evidence of Ambrose's involvement in numerous incidents of property destruction.

Ambrose obtained an attorney who promptly turned him into a government snitch. He then went around the country re-activating his old political contacts, and taping conversations and phone calls with them, including with his wife, Marie. Ambrose was and is sacrificing everyone he can, including Jesse and Marie, in order to obtain a reduction of his own prison term, which he has apparently successfully accomplished.

Ambrose recently retained high powered, influential, and very expensive criminal defense attorneys, Solomon Wisenberg and Adrienne Wisenberg, who are the lead white collar crime defense team in the Washington, D.C. offices of a Republican Party-connected law firm who filed a number of sealed pleadings on Ambrose's behalf.

With respect to Jesse's case, Ambrose would not be a very convincing witness by himself, in light of his motivation to get out of prison early. The other main witness for the prosecution against Jesse would have been another cooperating co-defendant, Detroit Stephanie Fultz, who had pleaded guilty in the Marie Mason case. She voluntarily participated in de-briefings with the FBI and eventually testified before the grand jury against Jesse. Fultz would have been a much more credible witness because she had been sentenced to a term of probation before Jesse was indicted, and was not receiving further benefit for her testimony.

But the main impetus for Jesse's decision to settle this case was the draconian sentence he would have faced if he went to trial and was convicted. He faced a mandatory minimum prison sentence of at least five years. In addition, he would have been sentenced pursuant to federal Sentence Guidelines calculated with a "terrorism enhancement," which would have resulted in a recommended minimum prison term of up to 22 years whereas the possible sentence for the Misprision conviction is probation up to 36 months in prison.

In preparation for Jesse's sentencing, we submitted almost 35 letters from his relatives, friends and supporters. The letters were articulate and very powerful. The federal prosecutor said they were the best group of sentencing letters he had seen. They clearly influenced him, as he made a number of statements favorable to Jesse during the

Supporters can write Jesse Waters at:

Jesse William Waters, #15854-040,
FCI Elkton
Federal Correctional Institution
P.O. Box 10
Lisbon, OH. 44432

sentencing proceedings.

About 20 family and friends traveled across the state to attend the hearing where U.S. District Judge Robert Holmes Bell, imposed a sentence of six months incarceration. Jesse has appealed his sentence to challenge the application of the terrorism enhancement to the sentence guidelines for a minor offense like misprision.

Jesse has been assigned to a federal prison camp in Ohio.

For political activists, there are two main lessons from the prosecution of Jesse Waters. First of all, if any activist has been involved in, or might be accused of having been involved in a possible crime while engaging in political activism, the time to consult with an experienced NLG attorney is now.

The NLG repeats over and over again, "DON'T TALK TO THE FBI!!"

Federal agents are very persistent and adept at getting people to make statements that are against their own interests. The two other peripherally involved co-defendants in Marie's case, Fultz and Aren Burthwick never would have been indicted if they had talked to the NLG in advance, and had been prepared for how to deal with the FBI.

The statements they made, which they thought would help them, instead provided the critical information needed to indict them. And, if they had not been indicted, Jesse never would have been.

Secondly, All activists should be cautious about whom they trust. If someone suddenly shows up and wants to talk about legally questionable activities from the past or suggests crimes, get away from that person immediately. Consult an attorney from the National Lawyers Guild for more specific advice. ■

John Royal is President, Michigan/Detroit Chapter, National Lawyers Guild. Nationally, they can be reached at nlg.org and in Detroit at michigannlg.org.



Donations to Support Marie Mason: Important Change

All donations for Marie Mason should be sent to Support Marie Mason, c/o Fifth Estate, POB 201016, Ferndale MI 48220. Checks should be made out to Support Marie Mason.

Funds are used for her prison expenditures, plus support material such as t-shirts, leaflets and brochures to publicize the injustice of Marie's sentence, provide travel stipends, and expenses for her pro bono lawyers.

Never send any contribution to Marie's prison account. It will be confiscated by the feds and applied to her court assigned restitution of \$2 million for property damage incurred in acts to which she pled guilty in 2009.



"Disappearing Tiger," by Marie Mason. More of Marie's painting are at supportmariemason.org

Anarchist Summer Reading

Read a book
this summer.
Then pass it on.

In a by-gone era, summers were when people took two week vacations and sat on the beach with an escapist novel to forget the world of work and obligations.

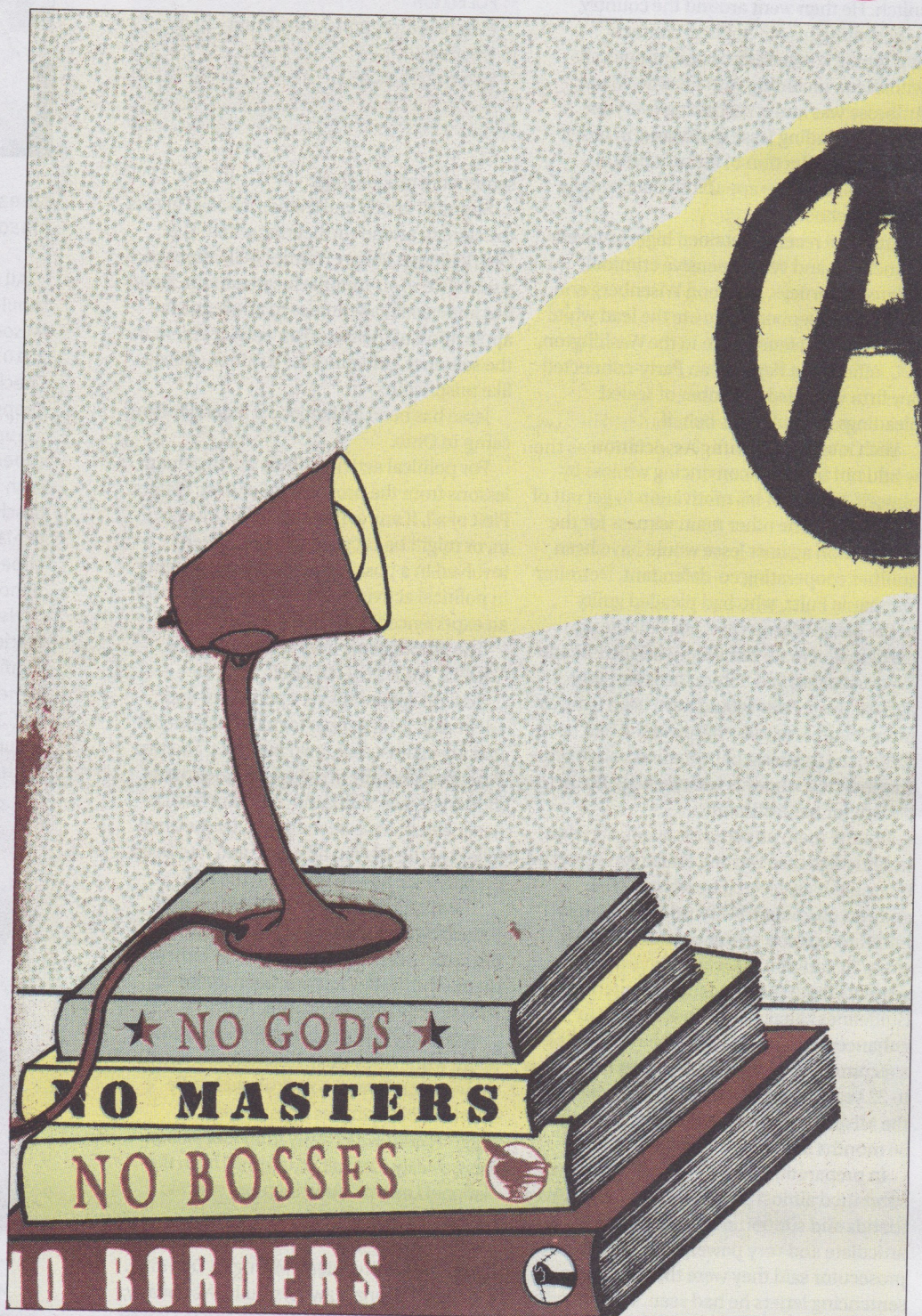
The books reviewed here contain the opposite of an escape: they ask the reader to become engaged with a world facing collapse on a multitude of levels, and with the critical task of knowing what we want and how to get it.

The following pages contain only a small selection of what we've received recently, so a title not being included only means that we need more issues more frequently to include the increasing stream of quality literature coming out of our movement.

The anarchist press is so prolific that it would be an exaggeration to say we've even scratched the surface of what is being published, but we offer at least a sampling.

When we talk about anarchist books and pamphlets, we mean real, physical ones, not what you see on a screen, but what you hold in your hands, feeling a page beneath your fingertips.

Books allow the ability to pause and reflect while sitting on your favorite couch, on a bus to work, or kicking back under a tree. And, when you've finished reading, books can be passed onto a friend or comrade to share that knowledge and enjoyment with others.



—Jesse Purcell. Poster for the 2010 Montreal Anarchist Book fair, justseeds.org

REVIEW

Anarchy for Kids: A Review of Colin Ward's Essays

BY BERNARD MARSZALEK

This large collection of essays by Colin Ward, his last publishing effort before he died last year at the age of 84, affords those who know him only as the author of the ever-popular *Anarchy in Action* (now in print for almost 40 years!) with an in-depth view of his many interests.

Ward affiliated with the British anarchist movement at the end of the World War II, while still a young soldier. Upon discharge he worked as an architect for ten years, went into adult education for another decade and then joined The Town and Country Planning Association as their Education Officer.

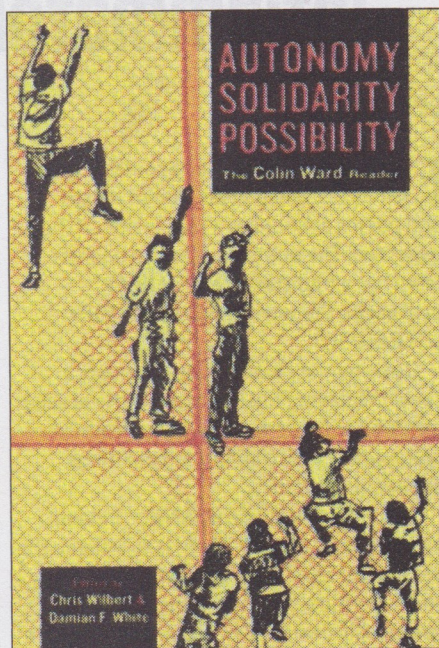
Only months after his employment began, Ward started the *Bulletin of Environmental Education*, an innovative periodical for the 1970s that advocated environmental education in secondary schools. Throughout this time he wrote innumerable articles for the anarchist press and edited their renowned English monthly *Anarchy* for ten years.

In the early 1980s, he quit employment entirely to devote all his time to writing, producing a book a year and contributing a weekly column to left-wing opinion journals like *New Society* and *The New Statesman* into the 1990s.

As this collection demonstrates, Ward explored a variety of topics. He wrote about self-built housing and alternative technology, the lives of children in cities and horticulture, water rights and local currency, and much more.

The connecting thread through all his interests was the practical and creative activities of ordinary people. He highlighted these efforts because they showed how people, given half a chance, often succeed in carving out a bit of individuality against the odds, poverty, alienation, commodification, and all sorts of authoritarian social pathologies.

For example, one of his earliest researches took him to the few remaining enclaves workers from London had established on cheap land purchased



Autonomy, Solidarity, Possibility: The Colin Ward Reader

Damian White (Editor), Chris Wilbert (Editor), and Colin Ward, Paperback, 375 pages, AK Press (Edinburgh, Oakland, Baltimore), 2011, \$21.95

during a slump in prices after the First World War. On weekends, in those early years of the 20th century, fresh air-starved workers retreated from the city, first to garden and then to build simple housing.

Eventually, after decades, these little makeshift villages evolved from refuges to permanent homes and then to targets for demolition by arrogant local officials responding to the greed of real estate developers. Ward's defense of these communities, as tangible examples of autonomous working-class culture, resonates with the historic legacy of institutions that workers in the 19th Century developed, including insurance societies, health clubs, cooperative stores, and building societies. The latter are member-owned financial institutions devoted to loans and mortgages.

Ward argued that these examples of grassroots economic development could have been the route to a socialist society,

one controlled from the bottom up and not the welfare state that evolved in Great Britain, guided by a paternalistic state bureaucracy.

One theme that Colin Ward returned to often, and almost exclusively as a social critic, was the place of children in cities. The city known to previous generations as a commons for creative play, today is an enclosure where we are held hostage to fear. He approvingly quotes Chicago's pioneer social welfare advocate, Jane Addams, on the failure of modern cities to provide equivalent rituals to "the pageantry, tourneys, dances and festivals" of medieval cities. Ward added that periodically providing a venue for a circus or concert, only solidified the ruthless exploitation of children as consumers.

Colin Ward would have endorsed the recent proliferation of schoolyard and community gardens in the U.S. as a splendid response to children's love of discovery and wonderment for nature. He championed child horticulturists as a step towards their introduction to adult activities. Decades ago, he railed against the domination of cities by auto traffic advocating, beyond slow streets, the outright banning of vehicles as Paul Goodman suggested fifty years ago for Manhattan.

These measures, Ward argued, would lead to cities where children could explore and where they could express themselves. He was not hesitant to recognize the revolutionary implications of his stand; he thought big. To quote:

"Rather than throw in a few playthings, shouldn't we help them [the children] climb out of the sandbox and into the city?"

And he thought small — taking a child's perspective proves a good analogy for Ward's emphasis on autonomy for neighborhood-sized groups. The growing popularity today of localism testifies to the appeal for small units of governance that contribute to community welfare directly, without bureaucratic supervision.

See ANARCHY FOR KIDS, page 26

Anarchy for Kids

From page 25

Another benefit of thinking small – of devolving social policy to manageable bits – is that it contributes to individual and social well-being. Well-being, as a guideline for social policy, has achieved wide recognition, but it can easily be captured by manipulative agencies, unless, as Ward maintained, the self-managed core retains control.

As an anarchist, he had no illusions about the immense task of removing authoritarianism, but also, as an anarchist, he advocated the anarchist system of organization as a solution.

Historically, anarchists called for the selection of local delegates as revocable members to higher bodies, with that same system reproduced at each layer of federation. As the democratic deficit that accompanies neo-liberalism becomes ever more obvious, Ward's "deep" democracy will appeal as a reasonable alternative.

Government officials have abandoned all pretense of support for civic values and, using the excuse of "tight budgets," have instead pushed a policy of realpolitik – essentially a corrupt policy meant to maintain inequalities of wealth and power.

Ward's work, uncovering historic grassroots institutions and the motivations that led to their creation, anticipated the current move to develop humane metrics for a good society to replace the Gross National Product statistic that merely records the accumulation of material wealth.

Our legacy to future generations should be an ethic of conviviality, as Ivan Illich proposed 50 years ago, and to that inheritance, Ward would add an urban aesthetic. This collection of Ward's essays offers, among other riches, a vision of a city where egalitarianism defines its geography. ■

Bernard Marszalek is the editor of *The Right to be Lazy: Essays by Paul Lafargue* (AK Press/Kerr Co., 2011) and co-founder of JASecon (Just•Alternative•Sustainable Economics), a San Francisco Bay alternative economy think tank.

DANGER: Inflammatory Literature

BY PETER WERBE

Even the mailing envelope containing Ron Sakolsky's latest collection of essays and poems announces a subversion of the expected. The publisher's return address label has a traditional red "DANGER" oval above the words "INFLAMMATORY LITERATURE."

Opening the package one discovers a cover displaying the fantastic (in the precise meaning of the term) art work of Maurice Spira, whose illustrations and paintings appear in this issue.

Then to the writings which are, indeed, inflammatory as their intent is to inflame the passion for revolution and lives of intensity and adventure. Right from the start of this gorgeously designed book, you know you're in for a ride.

Sakolsky exhorts us, "Create an uproar! Intoxicate the politics of everyday life..." And, the pace only picks up from there.

Riots, revolutions, and remembrances of late anarchist/surrealist comrades, Franklin Rosemont and Don Lacoss, to whom the book is dedicated, thread through his essays and poetry that trip from "Unheard Soundscapes" to Chicago's history of an IWW/Surrealist alliance; from pirate radio to Haymarket. None give any mercy to the rulers or to those too faint of heart for resistance to authority.

In the lead essay which forms the book's title, "The tiger," Sakolsky reminds us, "takes

"Create an
uproar! Intoxicate
the politics of
everyday life..."



Scratching the Tiger's Belly

By Ron Sakolsky, 2012, Eberhardt Press, Portland, Oregon, 160pp., price listed as, "Until we achieve a world free of currency, this book is \$9.95," eberhardtpress.org.

what it needs, and defends what it loves.

Several of these writings have appeared previously in this magazine, but reading them again doesn't diminish their impact. The ones I haven't seen previously, from a host of other publications, all informed by a wild sense of surrealism and anarchism, are more than just precise in their critiques, and inventive in their ideas.

They are agitational in the classic sense. They make you want to do something in response to the emotions they bring forth.

Sakolsky says, "Head boldly into the eye of the storm."

Let's go!

Paul Goodman's Last Testament

REVIEW BY PAUL J. COMEAU

Although Paul Goodman established himself as one of the most influential thinkers of the 20th century, by the end of his life the anarchist philosopher felt dissatisfied with the direction of the political movements his writings had inspired.

In *New Reformation: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative*, his last book of social criticism published two years before his death in 1972, Goodman attempted to resynthesize his theories with a wider scope, and address the problems he saw in the movements of his time. In many ways it was an update of his "May Pamphlet," a manifesto written in 1945.

In *New Reformation*, Goodman makes the argument that for much of society, youth in particular, science has become the new religion. "It is evident that...we are not going to give up the mass faith in scientific technology that is the religion of modern times; and yet we cannot continue with it, as it has been perverted," he writes in the Preface.

What he proposes is a "New Reformation," along the lines of the Protestant Reformation, to restore faith in the sciences.

Goodman begins his analysis from the perspective that much of this change must come from the sciences and professions themselves. If science is a religion for modern times, he argues, then "technology is a branch of moral philosophy, not of science." Technology's current place in the realm of the sciences, both in "the universities, in funding, and in the public mind," is a bastardized position, devoid of what it needs most: moral perspective.

Relying on technologists to enforce morality within their professional sphere makes sense not only from a utilitarian perspective, he asses. The more over-used a technology gets, the less productive it ends up being, and from an environmental perspective, as well. In order to ensure the survival of ourselves, and the planet, a more responsible and modest approach to technology is necessary.

Goodman is quick to dismiss the idea that science and technology are "value-neutral," arguing that it is scientists and engineers, the creators of the technologies themselves, who are best equipped to judge the merits of what they create and the best ways to put them to use. While critics may claim that these ideas lead to non-egalitarian technocratic social structures, Goodman's idea of a new branch of science, which would focus on the responsible application of technology, makes sense in the context of the future anarchist society that Goodman envisioned.

In his ideal society, as explicated here, our existing hierarchical social structures are replaced by egalitarian guilds based on people's professions, and how they contribute best to society. Interestingly, he calls this sort of organizing, where professions are organized and make decisions about their work output, "guild socialism," though it is on par with what anarcho-syndicalists have not only envisioned, but practiced.

The emphasis of much of Goodman's writing is on youth and their social conditions, and in the second section of *New Reformation* he focuses on the problems of youth, exploring the causes of, and possible solutions to, the problems he perceives with the youth



NEW REFORMATION PAUL GOODMAN

NOTES of a
NEOLITHIC CONSERVATIVE

"His pleading, sane, frank, troubled and by now tired voice
is one of the truest and wisest in American life."

—KENNETH KENISTON, *NEW YORK TIMES*

New Reformation:
Notes of a Neolithic Conservative

By Paul Goodman, PM Press, 194 pages, trade paperback, \$20.00

movement of the 1960s.

The problem, from his perspective, lies with the education system. Schools are less about education than they are about indoctrination; something youth of that era had come to realize, and ultimately reject. According to his critique, incidental learning offers better instruction than formal learning. "My bias," he writes, "is that 'teaching' is largely a delusion. People do learn by practice, but not much by academic exercises in an academic setting."

The solution, as Goodman saw it, was to put education back into real world settings, encouraging the natural inclination to learning through lived experience the way a formal education doesn't. "Our aim should be to multiply the paths of growing up, instead of narrowing the one existing school path," Goodman writes.

See GOODMAN, page 28

Paul Goodman

From page 27

The education plan Goodman proposed involved, first shifting the purpose of elementary pedagogy, through age twelve, to “delay socialization, to protect children’s free growth,” to allow children to “learn to learn.”

“They must be encouraged to guess and brainstorm rather than be tested on the right answers,” he writes. Further, Goodman advocates the transforming of educators, away from enforcers of indoctrination, and towards enablers of education, as companions on the educational paths not as authoritarian rulers.

As children grew and could not only engage in enquiry and discussion, but contribute meaningfully to their society, the time was right for them to begin thinking about professions. Here, Goodman’s model for the ideal anarchist society, organized into professional guilds, meshes perfectly with his ideas of anarchist education.

Instead of plodding the existing path from middle, to high school, to university, a robust system of internships and apprenticeships would exist where children would have the opportunity to first discover, and then pursue their life’s calling.

One of Goodman’s most important points is his emphasis on the importance of reading and the value of literature, not merely as a means of communication, but as one of the truly beautiful and valuable acts of human existence. For Goodman, there was a real fear that not just reading and literature were being co-opted, but that the whole of language itself was under threat.

“The most dangerous threat to humane letters,” he writes, “[is that] language is reduced to be a technology of social engineering, with a barren conception of science and technology, and a collectivist conception of community. This tendency has been reinforced by government grants and academic appointments, and it controls the pedagogy in primary schools.”

In order for language to be truly free, writing, and reading has to be brought out of the education system and into society where they can flourish naturally through active use.

In part three of *New Reformation* Goodman attempts to tie in a” he

theoretical ideas he has developed, with the realities of the present at the time in which he wrote. His examination focuses on the legitimacy of the state and society, but he also critiques the efforts of the student movement to rebel against both, and the legitimacy of those efforts.

Part of Goodman’s critique of the contemporary youth movement of the 60s is that many were losing political perspective, and most had no sense of economics. While this is a harsh view when we take into account *The Port Huron Statement*, *On the Poverty of Student Life*, and numerous other radical critiques coming out of the student movements themselves, there is a cold rationality to Goodman’s criticism.

What primarily discouraged him is that very few embraced anarchism, which Goodman saw as the only truly revolutionary path. “Of the political thought of the past century,” Goodman writes, “only anarchism...the philosophy of institutions



Paul Goodman. —photo Heka Davis

“Only anarchism. . .the philosophy of institutions without the State and centrally organized violence — has consistently foreseen the big shapes and gross dangers of present advanced societies.”

without the State and centrally organized violence — has consistently foreseen the big shapes and gross dangers of present advanced societies.” Those that did call themselves anarchists had a “problematic character... [coming] from the fact that the young are alienated, have no world for them,” he writes.

This leads them into a confused state, expressed in “their self-contradictory amalgam of anarchist and Leninist thoughts and tactics, often within the same group and in the same action.”

Where this takes them is not towards the building of a new anarchist alternative to society, as Goodman would have liked to see them go. Instead, while “their frank and clear insight and their spontaneous gut feelings are anarchist,” he writes, “...their alienation is Leninist, bent on seizing Power.”

Goodman devotes the rest of this section to arguing for the anarchist alternative, specifically the anarchist-pacifist alternative,

to Marxist-Leninist ideas generally, and to calls for armed struggle specifically.

In Goodman’s anarchism, revolution is not merely about seizing power, but about doing away with power completely. For him, revolution “means the process by which the grip of authority is loosed, so that the functions of life can go on freely, without direction or hindrance.” It is towards that end that he seeks to inspire readers in the remainder of this section.

As a whole, *New Reformation* is in many ways the culmination of Goodman’s writing, a synthesis of his ideas, tempered by both age and experience. With the revival of popular interest in his writing, many of his ideas are slowly gaining traction with a new audience.

As the Occupy movement ushers in the next upsurge of politically awakened youth, Goodman is well poised to take his place as one of the most important thinkers of the past century, and to influence yet another generation of radicals. ■

The Power of Art Should Never be Underestimated

BY DAVID WIDGINGTON

All works of art, regardless of their form, offer a message to their audience. Some may be conceived as more deliberate acts of communication, while others allow room for nuanced interpretation. As a political tool, art can even inspire an audience to risk their own lives or take the lives of others in the name of social change.

Leni Riefenstahl's film *Victory of Faith* documents the Nazi Party's 1933 Fifth Party Rally in Nuremberg and her later *Triumph of the Will* was made at the Nazi Party's 1934 congress. Both exemplify how the power of art can move an entire population to commit mass murder on the scale of the Holocaust. Riefenstahl's films represent the art of manipulation, preying on popular anxiety for the purposes of political gain and popular domination through deliberate propaganda.

The Listener is a political graphic novel by Vancouver resident, cartoonist, painter and guitarist for Mecca Normal, David Lester. This work of historical fiction is published by Winnipeg-based Arbeiter Ring Publishing.

Other artistic initiatives like the abstract sculptures by *The Listener's* protagonist, Louise Shearing, leave more room for interpretation or inspiration for political action that have led to their own deadly consequences. *The Listener* begins in present-day Vancouver with a man named Vann, who dies during an political act of civil disobedience inspired by a sculpture created by Louise.

Louise then leaves on a journey to escape her guilt and to find solace in the works of Western masters within the great museums of Europe. While in Berlin, Louise meets Rudolph and Marie, an aging German couple whose memories fill the book's pages with 1930's German history and the propagandist politics that led to the rise of Nazi fascism. Louise listens intently to her new friends' little-known story that becomes pivotal for her own recovery and that greatly influences the conceptualization of her next sculpture that ends the narrative, a larger-than-life work to represent the ideas of Nestor Ivanovych Makhno, the Ukrainian anarcho-communist guerrilla.

Vann, a young Cambodian doctor turned activist, provides the contrast that moves the protagonist forward past her guilt, eventually releasing her to her creativity. He is the mirror within which the protagonist can see herself and which allows her to evolve. This literary and narrative tool is perfectly embodied in Chapter 12.

In this climactic chapter, Walter, a Holocaust survivor and close friend of Vann, visits Louise in her Vancouver apartment to tell her more about the young Cambodian genocide survivor, who, until viewing Louise's sculpture, wondered why artists were targets for eradication by the Khmer Rouge. During his unannounced visit, Walter tells Louise, "Art held a fascination for [Vann] because very few Cambodian artists survived the genocide." He continues, "...your art inspired Vann, but it was his decision to act in the way that he did. Just as you interpret history and make art, he interpreted your art to make history."

Art inspires creativity. Art may be inspired by memory and can be a reminder of the past. Art is also about history's interpretation as posed by an artist's conceptualization. But the artist has little control of the effect a work of art may have because the observer — through his/her own contemplation — may be roused towards grotesque acts



The Listener: Memory, Lies, Art, Power, A Graphic Novel

By David Lester, Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2011, 310pp, \$19.95; distributed by AK Press, akpress.org.

of brutality or who may, preferably, be moved to perform exceptional acts of bravery.

Montreal anarchist poet, Norman Nawrocki expresses the role of art which is appropriately quoted in the book, "Spread the word, write it, sing it, shout it out, whisper it, type it, paint it, draw it, dance it, jiggle it, shake it up and down, ... don't be afraid, experiment, practice, agitate, organize, resist, ... do something intelligent, somewhere, something new and exciting that will bring us one step closer to where we all want to go: a healthy planet, without exploiters and exploited, here and now."

I'm sure this is what Vann had in mind as he risked his life for political expression and ultimately lost it.

I readily add David Lester's *The Listener* to my graphic novel collection and place it appropriately beside Jason Lutes' *Berlin: City of Stones* that is a beautiful multi-volume graphic novel of historical fiction of pre-WWII Germany.

David Widginton is a Media Studies graduate student at Concordia University in Montreal. He has been a radio, video and print media activist for over a decade and is rarely without multiple recording devices in one of his pockets. He blogs about the Quebec student strike at mediaswap.wordpress.com, South Sudan at southsudaninfo.net and a variety of issues at burningbillboard.org.

Creating a Community Against Abuse

BY MARIEKE BIVAR-WIKHAMMER

The Revolution Starts at Home is a series of articles, accounts, and discussions aimed at not only dealing with the aftermath of abuse, but also challenging the underlying institutions and values that perpetuate abuse and violence. The aim of the anti-violence movement, as Rebecca Farr of Communities Against Rape and Abuse (CARA) writes, is to "create a world where so many people are walking around with the skills and knowledge to support one another that there is no longer the need for anonymous hotlines."

This book is a collective effort, the interviews, poems, accounts, and analyses all written, recorded, and edited by people who are directly affected by the overwhelming violence and abuse visited upon themselves, friends, neighbors, and entire communities. They are all working, as part of collectives, larger movements, and as individuals to end violence through developing ways of listening and evolving a myriad of approaches to the many complex issues this work entails.

Some central concepts to dealing with these issues are community accountability and transformative or restorative justice. According to the editors, community accountability is "any strategy to address violence, abuse or harm that creates safety, justice, reparations, and healing without relying on... state systems."

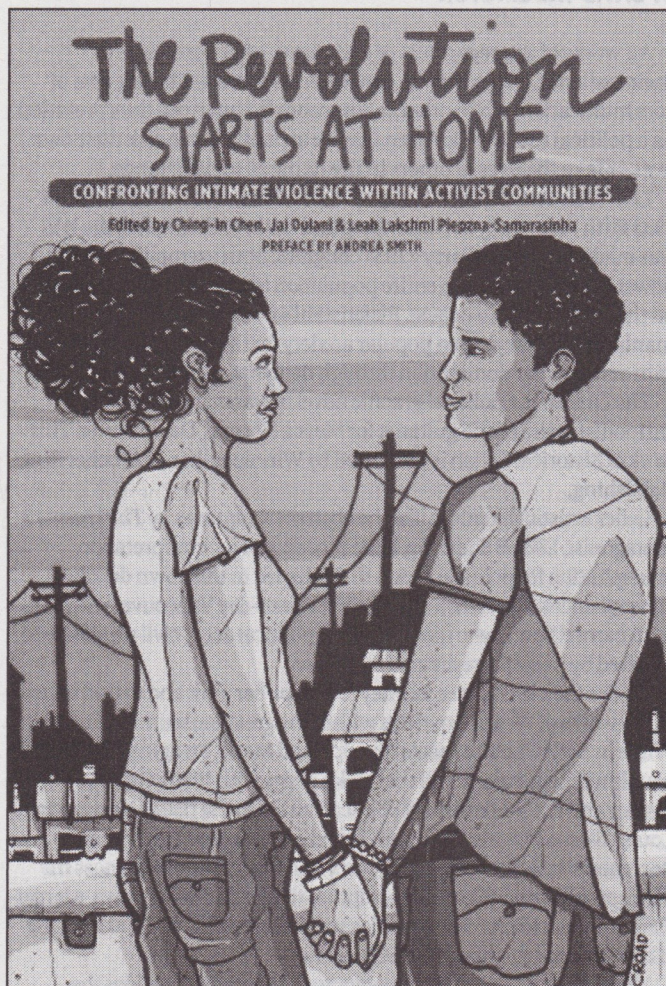
Transformative justice is "an approach to respond to and prevent... violence that puts transformation and liberation at the heart of the change... [and]... seeks to integrate both personal and social transformation."

Restorative justice is "[a framework in which] those who have been harmed take an active role in addressing that harm... and those who have caused harm are expected to take responsibility for their actions, to repair the harm they've done." Understanding, applying, critiquing, and evolving these concepts is also part of the important work being done by contributors to this anthology.

As much as being anarchists or radicals can mean taking responsibility for ourselves and those around us, there are times when we are faced with our inability to cope with situations of crisis. The personal is political, we proclaim smugly, then proceed to concentrate all our energies on our collective social struggles, leaving the personal to the individual. As contributor Jessica Yee puts it:

"only certain types of activism [are] valued, while so many [other] forms... (especially at home) are under-appreciated and overlooked... let's understand that some people's resistance is just the act of surviving..."

This brings us to the problem of community within the activist movement. Is it honest to suggest that we are really part of activist communities? While writing this review, a friend challenged me on my use of the word. I use it despite its abstract and problematic nature partly because I think that there are communities within our movements, self-defined and amorphous though they may be, and also because it is a word used throughout *The Revolution Starts at Home* to describe anything from a small group of friends and family members to an international movement whose members share



The Revolution Starts at Home: Confronting Intimate Violence Within Activist Communities

Edited by Ching-In Chen, Jai Dulani, and Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, Preface by Andrea Smith, South End Press, 2011, 325 pp, \$16

certain affinities and concerns.

Collective or community action, as outlined by the Oakland, CA based StoryTelling & Organizing Project (STOP), is certainly important to confronting and processing abuse:

"The intervention experiences described... could not have happened through individual action alone. Each instance required some level of collective responsibility and accountability. They also [proceeded] from the foundational assumption that the collective (the family, an organization, a neighborhood) impacts and is impacted by both the harm done and the responses to harm."

STOP partners with other groups around the world to collect and share stories and testimonies through their website, an important step to building a "toolbox of shared resources" for people trying to create new kinds of families and communities free of violence. ►

► Members of the Durham, NC coalition UBUNTU trying to help a woman ease her way out of an abusive marriage, for example, describe a process quite similar to direct action planning: taking the time to think of all possible outcomes and scenarios, making sure everyone will be safe, supporting each other emotionally but also practically (childcare, meals) until the moment of action, so that when it comes you are ready and united. The process not only helps end the individual cycle of abuse but also helps build strong bonds and encourages creative and critical thinking about strategies and risks.

Putting emphasis on collective action doesn't minimize the courage and strength of individuals who undertake this kind of work or come forward with their stories. It is simply meant to encourage the collectivity to take action with victims and try to address not only single instances of violence and abuse, but also the underlying issues that perpetuate abusive and violent behavior (patriarchy, male privilege, racism, sexism, homo- and trans-phobia, ableism, etc.).

This book is a continuation of a zine project subtitled, "Confronting Partner Abuse in Activist Communities." The book's subtitle reads "Confronting Intimate Violence within Activist Communities." This difference in wording reflects the realization that violence and abuse can take many forms, from partner abuse to violence against sex workers to betrayals of trust and crossing of boundaries by people who exert significant influence or authority over others within activist circles.

The different forms the sections of this book take add to our understanding of the diversity of experiences of abuse, with gut wrenching poems like editor Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha's, "When Your Parents Made You;" intriguing and inspiring roundtable discussions like the one recorded in the section "It Takes Ass to Whip Ass, Understanding & Confronting Violence Against Sex Workers;" and amazingly brave personal accounts of violence, rape, and abuse by too many of the contributors to name.

Many questions arise around these issues. For example, is a "survivor/perpetrator" dichotomy helpful or harmful? When people

"Healing from our personal experiences is not just a matter of personal health; healing is also a matter of social change. Our communities have suffered lifetimes of abuse: genocide, slavery, colonialism, massive incarceration and deportation, and police violence... The work required to undo the myriad of internalized and externalized forms of oppression is not just about what we do out in the streets, in nonprofits, or in community groups. It's also about how prepared we are to deal with the fallout from our personal experiences with violence. It's about how we treat ourselves and one another in the process. It is hard work to do this. It is really hard. But it is also necessary."

Ana Maurine Lara, from her essay, "There is Another Way," in *The Revolution Starts at Home*

being abused fight back or lash out at their abusers, how does this complicate the ensuing accountability process, and should it? Are feminist analyses of intimate violence bourgeois, divisive, and problematic, or do they simply challenge underlying systems of oppression that transcend cultural and class identities?

Linking oppressions is intrinsic to the work being done in the anti-violence movement. Sex workers, queer and transgender people, people of color, and migrants often face a dilemma when considering using the legal system to escape abusive situations. They may earn a living or live on the margins of legality already or simply be part of communities where state authorities regularly repress and oppress them, their families, and their loved ones.

For people with disabilities there are still more considerations. Their partners may be their main support people who they rely on physically. As Peggy Munson points out in her contribution to the book, "Seeking Asylum," it can be difficult for a person who is in a situation of dependence to denounce the one person they must rely without some

assurance they will be supported both in their day to day and through a long and arduous accountability process.

Queer communities must face gender binary analyses of sexism and gendered perpetrator/victim roles that don't necessarily apply to their relationships. As one person recounts of their experience getting a peace bond against an ex-lover:

"...the judge [called] my lover 'mister,' [gave] her masculine pronouns despite her obviously female name. . .in their own way, my queer feminist activist communities didn't know any more what to do with me or us than the courts did."

The Revolution Starts at Home is certainly not a perfect resource. In fact, it is far from a field manual, due in part to the diversity of experiences and approaches of its contributors, and this may prove frustrating to those reaching for a radical "how-to" book in times of crisis. In short: there are no easy answers.

Besides the support work and healing and exhausting confrontation, the people taking on this struggle are working very hard to address all of the various theoretical and practical problems that arise from trying to build a common analyses and responses to intimate violence.

Like any grassroots movement, it is ever changing, evolving, backpedaling, and redefining itself. It will be interesting to see what inspiring stories will be contained within the pages of the next *Revolution Starts at Home*, what new lessons will have been learned and put to use.

It will also be interesting to see how, or whether, this book has an impact on activist and radical communities at large, challenging us all to rethink the way we treat one another both at home and in the streets. ■

Marieke Bivar-Wikhammer is a collective member at Montreal's l'Insoumise anarchist bookstore. She is a student and a worker. She believes in tearing down all governments, borders, and fences, real and abstract, to create a world where people can live on their own terms.

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MUSIC REVIEW

Johnny Spanish "Dissent"

BY PAUL J. COMEAU

The past few years have seen an explosion in politically conscious hip-hop, with many artists like Rebel Diaz and Final Outlaw gaining widespread recognition for their affiliation with Occupy Wall Street and other social justice causes.

Add to this list another up and coming emcee, Johnny Spanish, whose free mix tape *Dissent* can be found online. Originally from Louisville, Kentucky, but currently living in Brooklyn, Spanish says *Dissent* "[was] heavily influenced by my anarchist beliefs and was my first real foray into explaining my philosophy."

Featuring polished production by Ghost Beats, strong hooks showcasing Spanish's hybrid style of singing and rapping, and some intelligent and incisive lyrics, *Dissent* sounds on the surface like it has a lot for the politically-minded hip hop head to be down with.

The tracks "Control," and "Never Be Still" are particularly strong, with "Control" featuring the most powerful hooks of any track on this album, and solid verses offering a tongue-in-cheek critique of the American dream. The hooks of "Never Be Still," don't get me quite the same way but the verses are superb, illustrating visions of a fallen world, and a possible post-apocalyptic future.

Dissent has a lot to offer, but after close listening, I can't give it my endorsement because of the lyrics to "Hate Me," the third track on this tape. On the surface it presents a pretty standard criticism of the proverbial game that is hip-hop, but Spanish falls into one of the classic lyrical traps that turns me off from a lot of otherwise good hip-hop—resorting to gay bashing, and using homophobic language to describe those he is critical of.

While it is perfectly legit to question the internet hype machine that is so integral to how new acts establish themselves, when Spanish tries to set himself above such things with the words "But I've been doing this for way too long / To be caring 'bout some motherfucking gay dudes blog," the use of a homophobic slur kills his credibility with me. This isn't the only instance either.

At two other points in "Hate Me," the term "faggot" is used in a derogatory way. "For all the records your faggot little clicks' got their hands on" and "Computer nerds got big off of some dot com boom / Little faggots gone get logged off soon."

These sorts of expressions are an all too common part of hip hop lyrics, and it is a shame to see an emcee who allegedly holds anarchist beliefs propagating the same prejudices as his mainstream counterparts. There is no place in anarchism for homophobia, friends.

Dissent has some great moments, but the homophobic slurs hold me back from liking this. It is clear that Spanish is a gifted emcee with a bright future—I just hope that he can progress creatively beyond hate-filled lyrics, and take his game to a higher level.

The only divisions in hip hop should be the dial between the bass and the treble.

INTERVIEW

Cara Hoffman

BY PETER WERBE

Cara Hoffman published her first major novel, *So Much Pretty*, in 2011. It is a tale of family, community, and storytelling, but also about the ongoing acceptance of violence against women. Cara's writing has appeared frequently in these pages. The Spring 2012 Fifth Estate featured a review of her book which was nominated for the National Book Award.

Fifth Estate: How do you place your novel within the genre of anarchist fiction?

Cara Hoffman: *So much Pretty* has a couple of characters in it who are committed anarchists and DIYers. The book also has a lot to do with the Situationists. A huge amount of the subtext relates to anarchist themes.

FE: Was it surprising to you that your publisher let your characters be defined in that way?

CH: No, actually not. Simon and Schuster is down with whatever ideological perspective I bring to my work. My editor recently wrote on Twitter that my favorite anarchist (me) has a blog up on Powell's Books. I know the common perception is that big corporate publishers are not amenable to anarchist philosophical or political ideas, but that's not true. I think it has to do with the delivery system for the ideology.

FE: They want to sell books. Eighty years ago, Knopf Publishers printed Emma Goldman's memoir, *Living My Life*, in a period that was extremely hostile to anarchists.

CH: Sure. Emma Goldman and authors like Joseph Conrad wrote books about anarchists. Writers associated with major publishers in conservative eras. Anti-authoritarianism is a fascinating topic. Certainly that's where my sentiments originated.

FE: I interviewed Walter Mosley once and he objected to being categorized as a "black, crime fiction writer." He said, "I'm a fiction writer, period." What do you think about the idea of anarchist fiction?

CH: Of course, my politics inform the way I view the world, but I don't see *So Much Pretty* as an anarchist book. I don't have a problem with being described as an anarchist writer. I don't think that's a terrible thing to be called.

FE: That's a compliment around here!

Is syndicalism outdated?

BY PAUL BUHLE

Syndicalism, the love child of socialism (or Marxism) and anarchism, seems to be badly outdated, or is it?

The idea that the working class could overthrow capitalism and the state through a general strike, and administer a new society through workers councils reached a peak popularity shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, but sunk rapidly thereafter. It was sometimes criticized as the propensity of highly skilled workers, but actually it was the faith of the lower levels (especially in the Industrial Workers of the World, if rarely called syndicalism by them).

Perhaps the repression of Italian workers by forces around Mussolini was decisive, perhaps the defection of so many leading syndicalists to pseudo-patriotism, or to the mainstream unions and to Communist movements, was decisive. The moment that passed did not return, even when American workers took over cities for a few days, or staged vast sit-ins, sweeping across whole regions in the 1930s.

But somehow, the spirit survived, no doubt in part because the political parties of the Left were such a disappointment, unwilling and

unable to lead surges of workers' initiatives. The New Left proudly called itself "Student Syndicalist," and during the steady retreat from the social rebelliousness of the 1960s and early 1970s, hints of syndicalism could often be heard, and not only in the US.

Does it have a future in societies where industrial capitalism has apparently been replaced by service-and-swindle economies? Two notable scholars, both of them with a global reach, have made an invaluable contribution to answering this vital question.

The first essay, by Victor Wallis (a long-time editor of *Socialism and Democracy* journal) sets the tone, with seriousness and good writing. The idea of "workers' control" sounds so simple, but is so revolutionary, whether posed as a socialist, anarchist, or some other kind of demand. It is an essence of democracy, what a section of the US New Left called "participatory democracy." And, still unrealized.

Donny Gluckstein supplies a lucid overview of European efforts across the generations, and others chime in with a wide variety of perspectives on related themes. We revisit Anton Pannekoek, for instance, and the "Left Communism" so condemned by Lenin. We see the Shop Stewards of Germany and the

UK, the factory committees (Soviets) of old Russia, under other names in Italy and Spain, but not so different.

We move through the postwar decades, finding ourselves in Yugoslavia, Indonesia, Latin America, with surprisingly similar results.

Closer to the present, factory councils respond to the austerity that the ruling classes seek to impose, and the dilemmas of factory councils under purportedly democratic leftwing governments (most notably in Brazil). So far, though, no escape from capitalism.

Still, the game is far from over and the lessons to be learned will be found here in abundance.

Dig in, reader.

Paul Buhle, founder of the journal *Radical America* in 1967, is now retired from academic life, engaged in radical comics, and prone to join the demonstrators in Wisconsin seeking something akin to syndicalist revival. His latest volume, *It Started in Wisconsin*, reflects the latter proclivity. Also, his recently released book from PM Press, *Robin Hood: People's Outlaw and Forest Hero, A Graphic Guide*, illustrated by Chris Hutchinson. Pmpress.org

Anarchist Writers Bloc publishes new anthology of anarchist short stories

With Prefaces by Raoul Vaneigem & Marge Piercy

The Montreal-based Anarchist Writers Bloc (AWB) has published *Subversions Vol II*, their second anthology of new anarchist fiction. The 260 page, trilingual (English, French & Italian) text is a powerful collection of 28 original short stories from 28 established and emerging anarchist writers from around the world.

It includes an English preface by American author of 17 novels, Marge Piercy (*Gone to Soldiers*, *Woman on the Edge of Time*, and *Vida, Braided Lives*), and a French preface by Belgian Situationist (and contemporary of Guy Debord), Raoul Vaneigem (*The Revolution of Everyday Life*, *The Movement of the Free Spirit*, and *Book of Pleasure*). Among the English authors included are: Peter Gelderloos, Jamie Heckert, Sandra Jeppesen, Frank Miller, and Norman Nawrocki.

Like *Subversions Vol. I*, this second volume presents a broad range of anarchist short stories, from hardcore waving of the black flag to more reflective and sometimes introspective story telling and soul-searching. As a movement and a political philosophy that values freedom above all, anarchism has always

attracted artists, writers and creative rebel spirits.

The idea for *Subversions* was launched during the eleventh annual 2010 Montreal Anarchist Bookfair where 30 international anarchist writers met to discuss common interests. From this meeting the AWB was born and *Subversions* became a collective project coordinated by the Montreal group.

The AWB is a core group of a dozen Montreal writers who promote anarchist theory and action through works of literature, poetry, theatre, and screenwriting. Apart from this book, the AWB collaborates on special projects such as literary workshops and regular rowdy and drunken nights of anarchist cabaret, where music, theatre, comedy, song and poetry rule.

Subversions Vol. II (260 pages; \$15) is distributed in the USA and Europe by AK Press (akpress.org) and in Canada by the Anarchist Writers Bloc/Le Bloc des auteur-e-s anarchistes, c/o L'Insoumise, 2033 boul St-Laurent, Montréal, Québec, H2X 2T3, Canada. Web: awb.daemonflower.com; e-mail: awb@daemonflower.com

Anarchist reading list from the Fifth Estate staff

Paul J. Comeau

The Dispossessed

Author: Ursula, K. LeGuin

The best fictional account of an anarchist society in practice, from the perspective of a brilliant scientist from that society who leaves it to try and bridge the cultural gap between his society and that of their nearest neighbors.

Anarcho-Syndicalism: Theory and Practice

Rudolph Rocker

The most well written exposition on the history, theory, and practice of anarcho-syndicalism.

Debt: the First 5,000 Years

Author: David Graeber

The best account of the history of our current economic system. Eye opening to those who take what they learned in school at face value.

Green Is The New Red

Author: Will Potter

A gripping account of how the government is working to label environmental activists as terrorists, and how close we are to a world where any act that violates the status quo can be labeled terrorism.

The Lorax

Author: Dr. Seuss

A story for all ages about the plight of the environment. A warning cry against deforestation and environmental destruction as only Seuss can tell.

Kelly Rose Pflug-Back

Direct Action

Author: Anne Hansen

The story of her involvement in the Squamish Five and the Wimmin's Fire Brigade, as well as their trials for eco-sabotage, and subsequent imprisonment.

Dhalgren

Author: Samuel R. Delaney

A speculative novel written in the 70's set in an anarchic post-apocalyptic city and

is one of the first ever books to talk about queer sexuality and non-monogamous relationships. Also, one of the first sci-fi books that does not have mostly white characters.

Woman on the Edge of Time

Author: Marge Piercy

A more utopian account of the future, set in co-operative anarchist communes.

Ridley Walker

Author: Russel Hoban

A little-known post-apocalyptic novel written in a degenerated dialect of English about a teenage boy wandering through the ruins of civilization with a pack of wild dogs and discovering the truth about a nuclear war that destroyed the planet generations before his time.

Shibboleth: My Revolting Life

Autobiography of Penny Rimbaud, drummer of the anarchist punk band, Crass.

Walker Lane

Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness

Author: Frederick Turner

One of the books that was once considered a foundation text of Fifth Estate thought. Turner traces the barren spirituality of the West and its domination of nature cultures.

Against the Mega Machine: Essays on Empire & Its Enemies

Author: David Watson

Chronicles the vast junk yard techno/industrial civilization has created and the revolt against its guard dog, the political state. Mostly essays from the Fifth Estate

Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep

Philip K. Dick

Any of Dick's anarchist sci-fi books are worth a read. This one became the movie, *Bladerunner*, whose subtext, usually where his message lie, is that without a capacity for empathy, you are not human.

Selected Poems, 1947-1995

Author: Allen Ginsberg

The power of poems like "Howl" and "Wichita Vortex Sutra," among the many in this volume act almost as a summary of all the other books we've listed, but without much hope in them.

Brave New World

Author: Aldus Huxley and 1984

Author: George Orwell

If you haven't read these since being forced to in high school, they're worth another look. Masterful writing, but dystopian to the fullest extent. Orwell's appendix on Newspeak is less about the Soviet Union and more about the debasement of language and meaning in the modern era.

Sandy Laplage

Against History Against Leviathan

Author: Fredy Perlman

A poetically written history of domination and resistance to it.

The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism, and Anti-Semitism and the Beirut Pogrom

Author: Fredy Perlman

Complimentary essays. The first explores the ways nationalism has been and is still used to reinforce rulers' control. The other addresses the question of why formerly oppressed people, instead of having an understanding of oppression and a desire to eliminate it, oppress others.

Free Women of Spain

Author: Martha Achelsberg

Chronicles anarchist women's struggles in the social revolution that took place at the time of what is often called the Spanish Civil War.

Proud Beggars and The Jokers

Author: Albert Cossery

An Egyptian author who lived in France, whose novels mock and ridicule the government and the values of the rich and powerful instead of attacking them head-on.

Revolution as Spectacle

FE Note: What follows isn't strictly speaking a review. The one we had intended didn't materialize, so we are reprinting this from the Venezuelan anarchist publication, *El Libertario*, where much of Rafael Uzcátequi's writings appear, and whose themes are echoed in this book.

One of the pillars of President Hugo Chavez's Bolivarian Venezuelan government is its enormous propaganda machine that repeats lies and half-truths thousands of times until they become real in the collective imaginary.

A favorite theme of this propaganda in different media and languages are the so-called "social missions," a name given the public policies implemented by the Executive to reduce poverty.

As *Venezuela: Revolution as Spectacle* by *El Libertario*'s Rafael Uzcátequi recounts, Chavez's discourse emphasizes social issues and that some of those missions, particularly between 2006 and 2009, contributed to reducing the percentage of poor families in the country. What is false, regardless of what some left intellectuals avow, is that these are populist, redistributive policies. The missions are far from being structural programs, and, indeed not revolutionary, to overcome the causes of poverty. Their depth and number of people who benefit are limited and does not correspond to the wealth derived from high oil prices, the nation's main source of income.

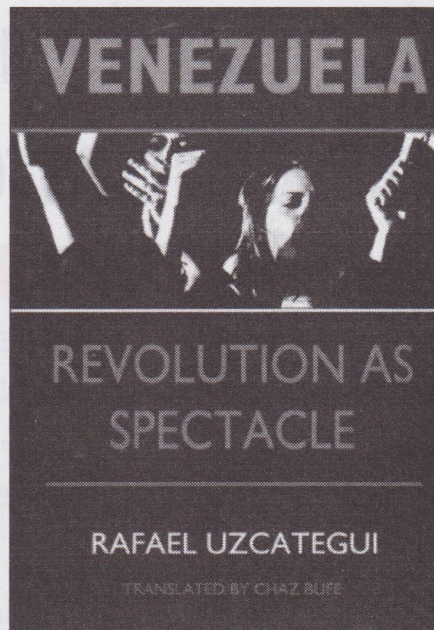
While the people get crumbs from the biggest economic windfall of the last 30 years, the well-connected elite, the boliburguesia, make fabulous deals and become wealthy overnight. Corruption and impunity at all levels, as well as bureaucratic inefficiency, have diminished the operational ability of the missions and their impact on reducing inequality.

Bolivarian educational policy is another of the key missions in state propaganda. However, according to a 2011 Report by Provea, (Venezuelan human rights NGO (derechos.org.ve)) based on official numbers, the total social investment, except for Social Security, has decreased in the last few years. Also, almost all indicators of investment in education have fallen.

Over a million and a half children between 3 and 17 are still not included in the education system. School enrollment for 2011 fell almost 11 percent below that of ten years ago. As far as the quality of education, it is worrisome that only 55 percent of teachers have a degree, 34 percent are temporary, and 10 percent are classified as "other" with no further explanation.

There is a significant lack of teachers in areas such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, and biology. There are no exams for jobs as principals or teachers, and there have been no evaluations of the efficiency of educational methods since 2003. The rate of scientific-technological innovation in Venezuela is at the lowest in decades, with the much of the qualified talent fleeing abroad.

These issues are not the priority of those on top, immersed as they are in the struggle for more power and more oil money. The criticisms are met with hyper-ideology and barracks discipline. What Chavez and opponents have agreed on is electioneering, and ignoring the social agenda.



**Venezuela:
Revolution as
Spectacle**
By Rafael Uzcátequi,
Introduction by
Octavio Alberola,
Translated by
Chaz Bufe, Tucson,
See Sharp Press,
2011, 232 pages;
seesharppress.com

In spite of having over 14 demonstrations a day, according to human rights organizations, the biggest number of the Chavez period, the media attempts to redirect the capacity of people for autonomous mobilization and put it within the electoral machine. From each extreme, left and right, coalitions and fictitious organizations are promoted in support of some candidacy and to create the sensation of a secure future.

Faithful to our principles, the anarchist position is the rejection of the electoral farce, exposing the capitalist character of the conflict within the bourgeoisie and denouncing those sectors interested in more of the same as much as in coddling the state bureaucracy.

As anarchists, opposed to the strategy of "the lesser evil," we are committed to creating a truly revolutionary and transformative alternative, against the ambitions of the Mesa de la Unidad Democrática (MUD, electoral opposition to Chavez) as well as those of the Gran Polo Político (GPP, an alliance of parties and groups that support the government).

This road is being followed from different directions by many people and organizations disappointed by the inconsistencies and corruption of the elite who promote political polarization in Venezuela.

In 2012, we will continue the reconstruction of the autonomy and belligerence of the social movements and fight electoral demagoguery, the siren's song, and sure source of further disappointment. ■

El Libertario is a Venezuelan anarchist paper published in Caracas since 1995 in Spanish with a large English section. It is available on line at nodo50.org/ellibertario. The print edition is distributed in Venezuela and 15 other countries, being the best known and most widespread anarchist voice from within Latin America. Subscriptions and distribution information from ellibertario@nodo50.org

Everything you thought you knew about human history is wrong, and here's why.

BY PAUL J. COMEAU

It takes a particularly special kind of writer to tackle a subject as nebulous as the history of debt. However, none seems better suited to the task than David Graeber.

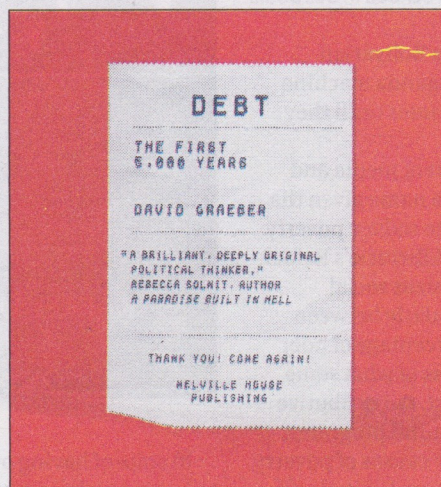
Debt, perhaps Graeber's most powerful and deeply subversive work to date, grapples with one of the oldest economic and moral conundrums in human history, that of money's unique capacity to "turn morality into a matter of impersonal arithmetic – and by doing so, to justify things that would otherwise seem outrageous or obscene."

When one looks at the historical record one finds that credit is the original form of money. "Credit system, tabs, even expense accounts, all existed long before cash," Graeber writes. "These things are as old as civilization itself."

So, what is money, and where did it originate? Graeber examines two main theories of money, the commodity theory, and the credit theory. Commodity theory treats money as an object that serves to regulate exchange, but downplays the role of the state, not only in its creation of currency, but in its fostering and regulating of markets. The credit theory argues that money is not a commodity, but "an accounting tool," a unit of measurement of the worth of an object.

The rise of the state then, becomes critical to our understanding of how money and markets evolved. If money can only exist when everyone in society agrees to honor it at its prescribed value, how can currency be maintained and regulated without the coercive power of the state? Graeber makes the argument that such a situation is only possible in small, communal social groups – a sort of "baseline communism" – where there is a relative amount of trust.

Liberal philosophers came to think of the need for the state to regulate markets and currency as part of the "social contract," an agreement between the governors and the governed in exchange for services. Historically, this has meant peasants paying tribute (taxes) to kings to provide armies for defense, and is used as one of the most frequent justifications for both states and taxes.



Debt: The First 5,000 Years
by David Graeber
Melville House Publishing, 534 pages,
hardcover, \$32.00

The moral justifications for this though, are based on the idea of what Graeber calls "Primordial Debt Theory." This theory draws its origins from the earliest human writings on debt, morality, and economics, the Indian Vedas. The argument here is that each of us owes what can only be termed a "cosmic debt" to the universe for our creation; a spiritual tab that can never be fully paid while we live, as our lives themselves are what is owed to that which created us.

It is on this basis by which tyrants and unscrupulous individuals have attempted to lay claim to structures of authority, like the state. Ancient societies, where Kings and religious leaders were considered intermediaries between god and man, or gods themselves, are an example. This leads to our cosmic debts becoming indistinguishable from societal debts, paid in the form of tribute and taxes, in essence assigning monetary values to human life. The social contract then, is not really a contract at all, but a perversion of an old religious question into a justification for state authority.

Of the numerous eye-opening details of the foundations of our modern economy

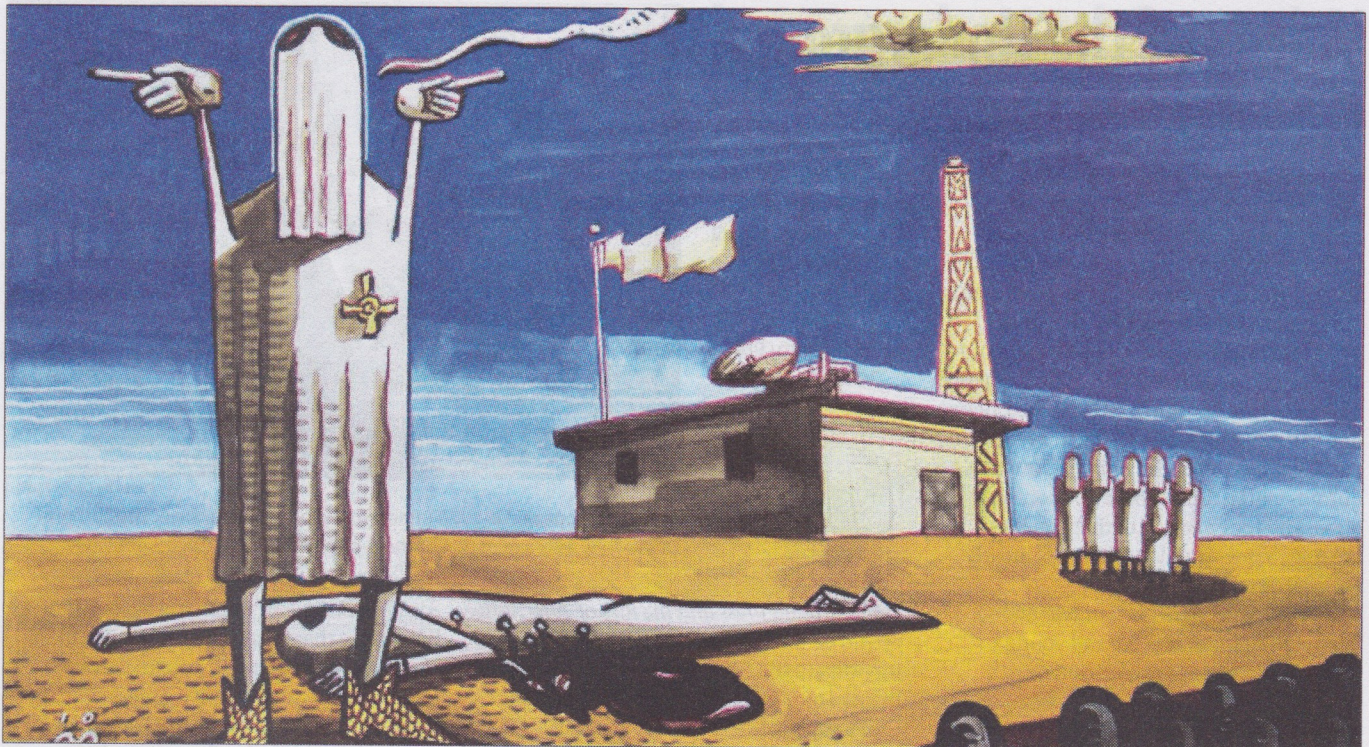
that Graeber reveals in *Debt*, the centrality of slavery is by far the most odious, and the most frequently overlooked by traditional economics and history text books. The exchange of people as currency, Graeber notes, exists even in the earliest legal codes. It is this process of making people exchangeable, Graeber writes, that "make it possible to make them subject to the logic of debt. Slavery is just the logical end-point, the most extreme form of such disentanglement."

Before the rise of market economies, there was another form of economy, which Graeber calls "human economies", economies built on the exchange/alteration of social arrangements between people. What changed were not goods between individuals, but something more abstract: social standing. In a human economy "money is not a way of buying or trading human beings, but a way of expressing just how much one cannot do so."

But this breaks down when humans become objects subject to exchange, starting with women and marriage, and leading to slavery. The intrusion of market economies only helps to further this breakdown. With the rise of powerful states based on war, currency, and conquest, the quantifying of human life makes slavery an integral part of the economic cycle.

Graeber focuses attention on what he calls The Axial Age, roughly 800 BC – 600 AD, and on the Roman Empire in particular as the most important example of these early powerful states, because Roman property laws are the basis for our own. Indeed, much of our political and legal ideas come from the Romans, and many of these ideas have their roots in Roman debates over legal questions regarding slavery.

Much of western philosophy also has its roots here, couched comfortably within materialism. In western philosophy, we see the origin of "pure... self-interested market transactions," or in other words, the desire for profit. This development continues into the Middle Ages, where we see the origins of modern capitalism, emerging first in the Arab world, and later in Italy. Interestingly, the Arab idea of the market, unlike the European idea, was an extension of mutual aid, not contrary



—Maurice Spira

to it. Such notions evaporated though as European capitalism took off.

In Italy, the merchant classes became so powerful that they ended up taking over and becoming the government. This allowed them control not only of the court systems, but as Graeber notes, “even more critically, their own armies.” “What jumps out,” he writes, “... are these links of finance, trade, and violence.” The Italians are also notable for the development of the joint-stock organization, the birth of the modern corporation.

It is the birth of the corporation which leads into what Graeber terms the Age of the Great Capitalist Empires, from 1450 AD – 1971 AD. It is important to note that even as powerful nation-states and powerful corporations were rising in the early part of this period, much of the rural population of the world still operated mostly on ancient credit systems, based on honor and trust.

As states sought to impose their currencies, and market economies upon these rural communities, many resisted. In 1525 in Germany, there were massive peasant uprisings. “The rebels, in most cases, representing themselves as simple Christians aiming to restore the true communism of the Gospels,” Graeber writes.

Here, we again see his “baseline communism,” acting as the basis of society. Ultimately, these rebellions in Germany and

elsewhere were viciously put down, and the ways of life they defended were destroyed, but the very existence of communities operating on such principles flies in the face of what economists and historians have been telling us is our history, and leads us to revise our understanding of the origins of modern society. Graeber writes:

“The story of the origins of capitalism, then, is not the story of the gradual destruction of traditional communities by the impersonal power of the market. It is, rather, the story of how an economy of credit was converted into an economy of interest; of the gradual transformation of moral networks by the intrusion of the impersonal – and often vindictive – power of the state.”

At the same time that the state was forcibly crushing such communities and practices, the intellectual elite were also rewriting the moral and intellectual frameworks of society, with a new perspective of self-interest over mutual aid and community.

Today, all our moral, economic, political, and even spiritual ideals are shaped by this perspective. “It is the peculiar feature of modern capitalism,” Graeber writes, “to create social arrangements that essentially force us to think this way...the structure of the corporation is a telling case in point...it is a structure designed to eliminate all moral imperatives but profit.”

What we have then is a picture of capitalist society, with deep historical roots. Its practices, even its very laws are couched in systems of inherent inequality. The current period of human history, like each that preceded it, is part of a cycle of ebb and flow. It is here that Graeber makes a profound statement:

“In this book, I have largely avoided making concrete proposals, but let me end with one. It seems to me that we are long overdue for some kind of Biblical-style Jubilee: one that would affect both international and consumer debt.”

This call for Jubilee, for the destruction of the debt records and a return to economic equilibrium, is a powerful one, and on one level it is an appropriate place to end *Debt*. But for how well the book does at tracing our economic history back to its roots, I feel that Graeber could have ended on a much stronger note.

While *Debt* does an excellent job of tracing our economic history, my only major problem with it, is that it does nothing to propose alternatives to such arrangements, let alone how we might go about achieving some sort of biblical-style jubilee.

In many ways, what *Debt* needs is a sequel. *Debt* offered us a thorough guide through our economic history from the past to the present. What’s needed now is an exploration of what the future might look like, and concrete proposals on how we could get there. ■

Voices of the Underground

BY PETER WERBE

As you can see by the type on our cover, the *Fifth Estate* is approaching its 50th anniversary of radical publishing. This makes us either the longest or one of the longest-running English language anarchist publications in U.S. history. The "either or" is due to from what date you count our appearance as an explicitly anarchist paper.

For the first decade of its existence, being one of the first of the so-called underground papers of the 1960s, the *Fifth Estate* was a quintessential tabloid of revolution, sex, dope, and rock and roll of that era. We are now, some would say sadly so, mostly concentrated on the first item.

By 1975, with the Vietnam War ended, legal civil rights achieved, and young activists in a state of exhaustion from a decade of non-stop action, almost all of the 500 or so opposition papers had ceased publishing, and the *Fifth Estate* was close to its last gasp as well.

That year, a group of us calling ourselves the Eat the Rich gang, took over the ailing paper, animated by the ideas of ultra-leftism, Fredy Perlman's writing, primitivism, and anarchism. The tabloid format, which once published weekly, now appears three times a year as a magazine, and as the FBI report we often quote states, we continue to "support the cause of revolution everywhere."

Our intention back then was not to become history, not the subject of another era of contestation and defeat to be chronicled by historians. Rather we simultaneously sought world revolution and the Age of Aquarius, and immediately. "Now!" was the operative word. However, as time advanced, neither of our visions occurred.

As it turns out, our older issues and what they convey about the era, are valuable sources of accurate information about the forces of opposition, acting as a counterweight to the distortions and lies of the mainstream media.

Most accounts of the underground press of the 1960s give only short attention to the *Fifth Estate*, understandably concentrating on the larger circulation papers such as the *L.A. Free Press*, *The Berkeley Barb*, and *The East Village Other*. Or, they pretty much ignore us as in recent books such as John McMillian's *Smoking Typewriters: The Sixties*

**Insider Histories
of the Vietnam
Era Underground
Press, Part 2**
Edited by Ken
Wachsberger,
Michigan State
University Press,
2012, 442pp, \$40



Photo by David Fenton

Ann Arbor cops raid a 1970 underground press conference. The author of this review asks a question of the typical of the era, "What's goin' on?"

Underground Press and the Rise of Alternative Media in America. It gives only passing mention to the *Fifth Estate* concentrating instead on *The Paper* which published in East Lansing, Mich. for four years.

This complaint isn't about getting credit for which we expected none. But the *Fifth Estate*, being a half century chronicle of the anti-war, civil, gay, and women's rights, Detroit rock and roll, League of Revolutionary Black Workers, Black Panther Party, White Panther Party, GI and draft resistance, and that's just from the 60s, would seem to be a much richer source for historians than some of the other short lived, narrowly focused publications.

So, thank you, Ken Wachsberger, for *Insider Histories*, which includes a long account of the *Fifth Estate*'s early years, written by a key participant, Bob Hippler, entitled "Fast Times in the Motor City: The First Ten Years of the Fifth Estate."

Also included is an appendix by *FE* staffer, the late Pat Halley, who relates the story of throwing a pie in the face of the Guru Maharaji, an act for which he almost paid with his life when he was attacked by cult followers seeking revenge.

This is the third volume of what will be four books in Wachsberger's *Voices of the Underground* series, a four-volume collection of histories of underground papers from the Vietnam era as told by key people on each of the papers.

Hippler captures this publication well in his account, as do the numerous other authors who recount tales of life at papers such as Mississippi's *Kudzu*, the feminist, *It*

Ain't Me, Babe, and in general accounts of life during that heady decade. Stories in the series represent the gay, lesbian, feminist, Black, Puerto Rican, Native American, military, prisoners' rights, socialist, new age, rank-and-file, Southern consciousness, psychedelic, and independent antiwar voices of the era. The foreword is by feminist pioneer Susan Brownmiller.

As Dickens wrote, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness." The same words can aptly apply to the 1960s. All of the successes and defeats are here so that another generation gets some idea of what worked and what didn't.

—from *Insider Histories* back cover blurbs:

In an era when events linger in popular memory for increasingly smaller increments of time, the *Voices from the Underground* series serves us all by bringing back to life those rebel shouts and rants, as well as the thorough critiques and criticism, that marked the 1960s and '70s oppositional press. Without a World Wide Web or the Internet to connect and inform those who refused the official version of events, it fell to the intrepid youth of that period to create a lively media that unraveled lies, put forth a vision, and gave a clenched fist and a raised middle finger to power.

—Peter Werbe, *Fifth Estate* staff

BRIEFS

3rd Annual Twin Cities Anarchist Book Fair

The 3rd Annual Twin Cities Anarchist Book Fair (TCABF) is the weekend of Sept. 15-16 at the Powderhorn Park building in Minneapolis.

The organizers say while the primary purpose of the Book Fair is to promote and debate the ideas of anarchism, it is also open to organizations and individuals who seek a radical restructuring of our current society to be more democratic, less oppressive, and just for all people.

The TCABF organizing committee lost a close friend and collaborator this year. Adam Briesemeister, who was instrumental in building the book fair for the past two years, was a committed anarchist, Wobbly, and radical community organizer, died this March in a house fire in south Minneapolis.

True to his principles to the end, Adam succumbed to smoke inhalation only after alerting his housemates, all of whom survived the fire. Many members of the Minneapolis radical community have decided to dedicate our activism to Adam's memory this summer, and we hope to make this year's book fair especially vibrant and effective in his honor.

At past fairs there has been over two dozen tablers, a score of workshops, and innumerable opportunities for anarchists, other radicals, and members of the general public to meet, discuss radical ideas and build community.

For more information on the fair, tabling reservations, and accommodations, go to their site at tcanarchist.org.

**150 Years of Colonialism:
150 Years of Resistance
2012 Victoria Anarchist Bookfair**

Victoria, British Columbia, located on unceded Lekwungen Territory, is celebrating 150 years of colonialism through city events that promote historical erasure.

The Victoria Anarchist Bookfair will respond with illuminating stories of historical and ongoing colonialism while celebrating 150 years of resistance. It is September 8-9 at the Fernwood NRG Community Hall, 1240 Gladstone Ave, Victoria, BC, Lekwungen Territory.

As a catalyst for putting learning into action, we are also mobilizing to build opposition against the Northern Gateway Pipeline and other such proposals, which are glaring examples of ongoing colonialism on Canada's West Coast.

The Bookfair is for anarchists and non-anarchists, with participants from all over North America and beyond. It includes workshops on a wide range of topics.

The organizers write, "We seek to challenge colonial attitudes, introduce anarchism to the public, foster dialogue between various political traditions, and create radical, inclusive, anti-oppressive spaces. Participants with different visions, practices, and traditions are welcome."

Events include book and information tables, workshops, readings, films, presentations, and more.

In addition to the Bookfair, a "Festival of Anarchy" will take place during the preceding week, September 1-7, with diverse anarchist-themed events occurring at different venues in Victoria.

You can propose any type of event or activity; the only limit is your imagination. Also this year, the Urban Interventionists are looking to coordinate artists to intervene in spaces around the city. Installations, flash mobs, bike races, dance parties, punk shows under bridges, guerilla art, graffiti, performances and beyond.

The Fair is particularly seeking workshops that engage with the theme of anti-colonialism and the mobilization to stop proposed pipeline projects in B.C. This can include presentations on radical theory, Indigeneity, historical issues, participatory demonstrations, panel talks, facilitated discussions, and everything in between.

Also, workshops that address,

challenge, and connect gender, sexuality, race, colonialism, ability, capitalism, environmental destruction, workers' struggles, and other issues affecting our communities are welcome.

For information on tables, workshops, volunteering and general questions, go to their web site at victoriaanarchistbookfair.ca.

Left Bank Books publishes books and pamphlets again.

After several years of silence, Seattle's Left Bank Books Collective is restarting its publishing project with books and pamphlets, both repressings and original works.

The first is a repress of the first pamphlet published by Left Bank, *The Kronstadt Uprising of 1921*, written in 1975 by one of the founders of the project, Lynne Thorndycraft. It tells the history of the heroic revolt of Russian sailors against Bolshevik tyranny and counter-revolution.

The second is a new essay by John Zerzan titled, *The Origins of the 1%: The Bronze Age*. Upcoming is a new edition of Peter Gelderloos' *How Nonviolence Protects the State*.

Visit leftbankbooks.com for more information including their books store and publishing projects.

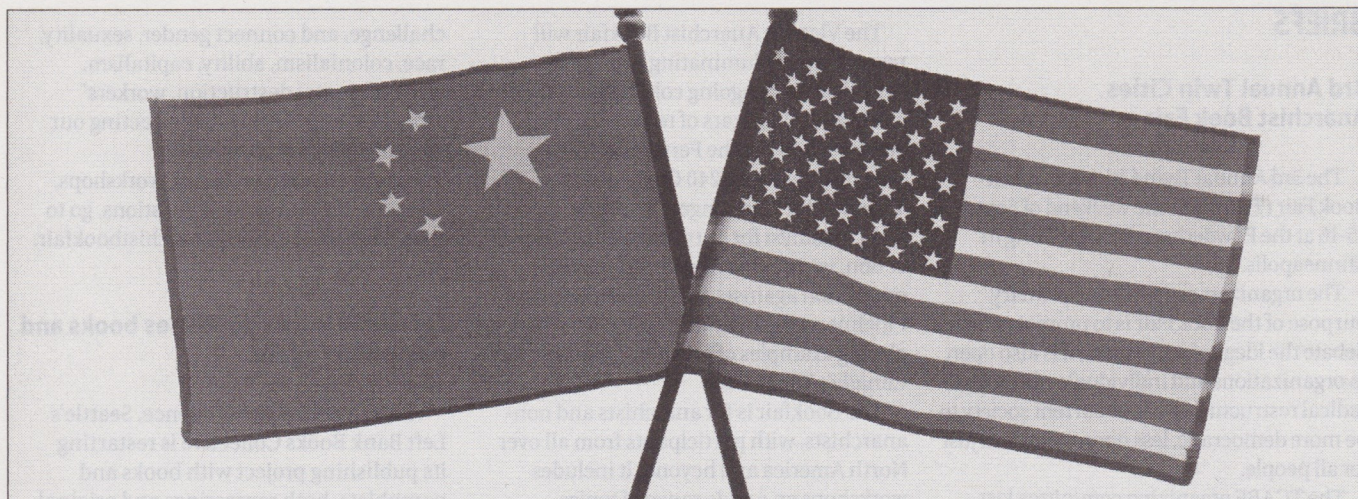
Free Voices Magazine

Free Voices will publish its eighth edition this summer with an Anarchist Feminist issue. The publishers say their goal "is to present anarchism as a living, working philosophy," and present current analyses and anarchist classics. They have an ambitious publishing schedule stretching into 2013 which includes issues on labor and anarchist education.

Subscriptions are \$20 for four issues from Free Voices, 98-12 66th Ave., Suite #2, Rego Park NY 11374, or on line at freevoicesmagazine.com; email.

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RISE AND FALL

Global Competition, Conflict, and Realignment in an Era of Declining U. S. Hegemony and China's Rising Power

FRANCIS SHOR

A defining historical feature of the decline of specific empires in the world capitalist system has been the conflict surrounding the emergence of a successor. The United States and Germany engaged in a protracted struggle in the first half of the twentieth century to determine which country would replace Great Britain as the dominant power.

After Germany's second defeat in a world war in 1945, the U. S. and the U. S. S. R. contended for global hegemony even though the U. S. was the pre-eminent power in economic and military terms throughout the four decades of the Cold War. Since the demise of the Soviet Union, the U. S. has attempted to use its unrivaled military power as a weapon to retain an eroding supremacy.

However, given extensive internal and external contradictions, the U. S. empire faces global competition and realignment, especially, but not exclusively, as a consequence of the rise of Chinese global power.

While it may be that global capital has, to a certain extent, delinked itself from the nation-state, in the case of the United States, in particular, the state and state apparatus, especially in the form of military neo-liberalism, still perform essential geostrategic functions. A fully realized deterritorialized and decentered global system, whether envisioned by Hardt and Negri on the left or Thomas Friedman on the right, does not yet exist.

Indeed, the "dialectical relation between territorial and capitalist logics of power," which David Harvey identifies as the defining characteristic of the "new imperialism," still persists. That persistence of territorial logic, described by Chalmers Johnson, in *The Sorrows of Empire*, as an "empire of bases," more than a predetermined inter-imperialist rivalry or an emergent transnational capitalist class, underscores the growing geopolitical competition between the U. S. and China. On the other hand, it is necessary to account for both elements in Harvey's dialectic in order to demarcate those sites of US/Chinese competition and conflict.

While the United States no longer dominates the global economy as it did during the first two decades after WWII, it still is the leading economic power in the world. However, over the last few decades China, even with all its internal contradictions, has made enormous leaps until it now occupies the number two spot.

In fact, the International Monetary Fund recently projected that the Chinese economy would become the world's largest in 2016. In manufacturing, China has displaced the US in so many areas, including becoming the number one producer of steel and exporter of four-fifths of all of the textile products in the world and two-thirds of the world's copy machines, DVD players, and microwaves ovens.

Yet, a significant portion of this manufacturing is still owned by foreign companies. On the other hand, China is also the largest



► holder of foreign reserves, especially of US treasury bonds. The latter is one of the reasons mitigating against a full-blown conflict with the US since China has such a large stake in the US economy, both as a holder of bonds and as the leading exporter of goods to the US. Yet, China's leading trade partner in 2007 was the European Union.

At the same time, China is now the world's largest consumer of essential metals (copper, zinc, platinum) and one of the most voracious importers of hydrocarbons. Essential investment and trade by China in Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Venezuela, plus engagement with a host of Central Asian countries, indicates China's growing need for oil and natural gas, as well as its growing challenge to US geostrategic interests in these countries and regions.

With China's energy consumption approaching 20 percent of the world's total, it may well overtake the US as the largest hydrocarbon consumer in the next decade or so. It is already the number one producer of greenhouse gasses although the US is still the per capita leader.

Nonetheless, as Michael Klare points out in *Rising Powers, Shrinking Planet: The New Geopolitics of Energy*, the scramble for more oil will lead to extracting what he calls "tough oil," leading to more expensive and environmentally destructive production. Compounding the energy strains and resource competition are additional environmental catastrophes in the form of global warming and desertification.

As one skeptical analysis of China's rise warns: "By impinging on the very process of world-systemic reproduction itself, the mutually interpenetrating character of energy resource bottlenecks and extreme climate perturbations should make an already unlikely transition in world-systemic leadership between a declining US and a rising China even more inconceivable – especially considering these bottlenecks and perturbations will both compound China's well-documented explosion of peasant and worker protests and hamstringing the capacity of the Chinese state to respond to myriad crises."

Beyond the internal and external environmental crises facing China and the United States, the resource competition between these two powers will invariably lead to geostrategic conflicts. The US obsession over the growing Chinese economic and geopolitical threats deliberately obfuscates those factors that have led to a declining global hegemony.

Author James Petras captures the global contradictions that flow from these differing geostrategic postures in the world:

1. Washington pursues minor military clients in Asia; while China expands its trading and investment agreements with major economic partners – Russia, Japan, South Korea and elsewhere.
2. Washington drains the domestic economy to finance overseas wars. China extracts minerals and energy resources to create its domestic job market in manufacturing.
3. The US invests in military technology to target local insurgents challenging US client regimes; China invests in civilian technology to create competitive exports.
4. China begins to restructure its economy toward developing the country's interior and allocates greater social spending

See CHINA, page 42

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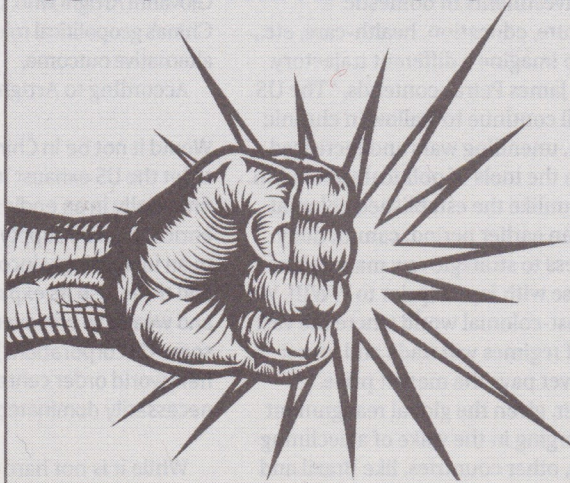
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China

From page 41

to redress its gross imbalances and inequalities while the US rescues and reinforces the parasitical financial sector, which plundered industries (strips assets via mergers and acquisitions) and speculates on financial objectives with no impact on employment, productivity or competitiveness.

5. The US multiplies wars and troop build-ups in the Middle East, South Asia, the Horn of Africa and Caribbean; China provides investments and loans of over \$25 billion dollars in building infrastructure, mineral extraction, energy production and assembly plants in Africa.
6. China signs multi-billion dollar trade and investment agreements with Iran, Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Bolivia; securing access to strategic energy, mineral and agricultural resources; Washington provides \$6 billion in military aid to Colombia, secures seven military bases from President Uribe, backs a military coup in tiny Honduras and denounces Brazil and Bolivia for diversifying its economic ties with Iran.

Given the reactionary political trends in the US and the continuing commitment to preserving the empire at the expense of major investments in domestic infrastructure, education, health-care, etc., it is hard to imagine a different trajectory. Indeed, as James Petras contends, "The US Empire will continue to wallow in chronic stagnation, unending wars and increased reliance on the tools of political subversion. . . The US, unlike the established colonial powers of an earlier period, cannot deny China access to strategic raw materials as was the case with Japan [prior to WWII]. We live in a post-colonial world where the vast majority of regimes will trade and invest with whoever pays the market price."

Moreover, given the global realignment that is emerging in the wake of a declining US empire, other countries, like Brazil and Turkey, will take the initiative on the global stage to address geopolitical concerns that the US continues to impede and/or neglect. Global powerhouses, like the BRIC (Brazil,

Russia, India, and China), will look for ways to affirm their own self-interest in trade and geopolitical alignments.

As much as the competition over essential resources contains a component of the capitalist logic of the "new imperialism," it is at the level of military rivalry and geopolitics that the US and China are positioning themselves to claim certain geostrategic objectives.

The Pentagon continues to assert its military prerogatives in the Pacific and the South China Sea. Conducting naval exercises recently in that region, the US staked out its commitment to what a previous national security strategic document called "full spectrum dominance." Yet, there are numerous Pentagon officials, from Admiral Mike Mullen, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, on down, who, while committed to maintaining and even expanding US presence in the Pacific, consider China's rise as part of a regional alignment that can be managed. There are others, however, such as President Obama's National Security Advisor Tom Donilon, who worry about China's "unchecked influence in the region."

China has greatly expanded its investment in the military, especially with naval vessels and sophisticated electronic equipment. Some analysts, such as Alfred McCoy, foresee an eventual US/China military conflict that may very well be resolved in favor of China, especially as a consequence of its growing network of supercomputers and cyber warfare. On the other hand, there are scholars like Giovanni Arrighi who, taking the long view of China's geopolitical role in the world, see an alternative outcome.

According to Arrighi:

Would it not be in China's best interest, one, to let the US exhaust itself militarily and financially in an endless war on terror; two, to enrich itself by supplying goods and credits to an increasingly incoherent US superpower; and three, use its expanding national market and wealth to win over allies (including some US corporations) in the creation of a new world order centered on China, but not necessarily dominated militarily by China?

While it is not hard to imagine that China may wish to bide its time and remain an economic powerhouse without exacerbating geopolitical flashpoints such as Taiwan, it is more difficult to assume that the US will

renounce its "indispensable" leadership and step down from its military pre-eminence.

One must turn, therefore, to prior historical examples of the conflicts between rising and declining or competing powers in order to provide more context to the present competition and conflict between the US and China. In conservative historian Paul Kennedy's recounting of the growing antagonism between England and Germany leading up to WWI, geopolitical conflicts and military imperatives played a significant, if not solely determining, role in their eventual clash.

The history of the Cold War was replete with geopolitical conflicts that were proxy or surrogate battles between the US and Russia. Perhaps, as in the case of the Cold War, containment will be the preferred strategy of the US and direct conflict will not occur. On the other hand, the Soviet Union was never an economic threat to the US nor was the US in the dire circumstances of imperial overstretch.

While it remains unclear what the ultimate outcome might be of growing competition and conflict between the United States and China, it is very clear that the US is a dying empire with declining hegemonic power in the world.

There are those who see the emergence of a multi-polar world where China and other regional powers supersede US global dominance. In this scenario, the US, out of a recognition of the detrimental domestic and foreign effects of imperial overstretch, accommodates itself to such a multi-polar world.

However, it is hard to envision any tendency within the American political elite who would be prepared to surrender continuing US global dominance.

Unless and until there are radical changes in how the US is governed and how it operates militarily in the world, permanent war, including military conflict with China, may be inevitable. ■

Francis Shor is a social and cultural historian at Detroit's Wayne State University, with emphasis on Utopian Studies. His political criticisms appear frequently on line and his most recent book is *Dying Empire: U. S. Imperialism and Global Resistance*, the manuscript which is on line at clas.wayne.edu/faculty/shor

BRIEFS

New magazine published

Modern Slavery: The Libertarian Critique of Civilization, is a new magazine from CAL Press, publishers of *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*, that is printing material they identify as critical and creative material that has too often fallen in between the cracks of other periodicals from a left libertarian perspective.

In its whopping 200-page first issue, with a \$12.95 price tag, *MS* emphasizes long form essays (greater than 3000 words) from writers such as Ron Sakolsky, Paul Simons, Karen Goaman, Voltarine de Cleyre, and Jason McQuinn.

For information on submissions and purchase, write modernslavery@calpress.org.

LBC Books 2012 Schedule

LBC Books, the publishing arm of Little Black Cart distribution, has begun an aggressive publishing schedule for 2012.

Books published so far include *Occupy Everything: Anarchists in the Occupy Movement 2009-2012*; *Queer Ultraviolence: A Bash Back Anthology*; *Freedom: My Dream, the autobiography of Enrico Arrigoni*; *The Theory*

of Bloom by Tiqqun; and *Uncivilized: The Best of Green Anarchy Magazine*.

LBC Books publishes under a number of imprints including Ardent Press, *The Anvil Review*, and several to be seen later in 2012.

More information at lbcbooks.com and ardentpress.org. Purchase these titles at littleblackcart.com, and read free material at theanvilreview.org. LBC also sells *Fifth Estate* back issues; you can link from fifthestate.org

This quite astounding and prolific outpouring warrants a review for almost every publication mentioned above. If you are interested, contact us at fe@fifthestate.org.

APOC set to meet

The first national Anarchist People of Color Convergence (APOC) was held in 2003. Feeling that another is long overdue, a call has been issued for another in New Orleans, July 12 – 15. Organizers anticipate between 150 – 300 participants.

Info at apocconvergence.info. Also, facebook.com/AnarchistPeopleofColor; workshop proposals and general information from anarchistpeopleofcolor@gmail.com.

The organizers have issued this statement: APOCalypt will gather people of color to discuss, build, and share radical anti-authoritarian practices based on autonomy,

egalitarian relationships, and justice. We hope to bring together a couple hundred friends, comrades, family members, and strangers to New Orleans to celebrate, re-map, and craft our anti-authoritarian visions and skills for the years to come.

Through parties, plenaries, workshops, panels, roundtables, and space for impromptu discussions, we will discuss what it means to organize as anarchists; the future of indigenous solidarity; people-of-color movement history; science fiction; queerness; and conversations on racialization.

Not everyone coming will be or has to be an anarchist. We just hope that participants will want to build power in ways that are not hierarchical, racist, and heteropatriarchal, but are instead collaborative and horizontal.

All of the organizers are unpaid and paying their own expenses, but need to provide transportation, food, coordinate housing and translation/interpretation for the participants as well as line up childcare and healing practitioners. The New Orleans collective of seven people are bearing the brunt of most of the cost and logistical work although people in the Bay area and New York City have committed to help in fundraising.

Details on how to donate are on the web and facebook pages above.

Financial Advice

From page 5

making stuff out of the rocks, trees, and animals they find around them, to sell for money. People who do well at this soon have more money than they need, but they don't stop making stuff. Instead, they expand. They buy machines that help them make more stuff faster and cheaper.

Soon, they have even more money, so they loan it to other people to expand their businesses, so they can make more stuff faster and cheaper. That way, they make even more money, but nobody wants their money just sitting around doing nothing. Everyone wants their extra money to make even more money, and most people don't care how it happens, as long as it happens.

All of this money really, really, wants to make even more money out of whatever rocks, plants, and animals that are still left on the

planet, creating our present situation: We have rapidly increasing amounts of money chasing dwindling numbers of rocks, plants, and animals, all over the world.

Today, this money exerts tremendous pressure on all of us. It constantly works to find new ways to extract more from us, and the planet, every day. It never rests and does not care about anything else but making more of itself. Money has become a monster. Stay away from it.

From this perspective, unemployment is not our most serious economic problem. Unemployment is the solution to our most serious economic problem. Don't try to make money; that just exacerbates our global problems. Just find someplace to live and something to eat. If you can't find a better way to do something than with money, consider that a failure of imagination.

We cannot afford to be productive workers any longer. Our own industriousness got us into this mess. The more productive we become as workers, the faster capitalists

extract resources from the commons, and the more pollution the whole process creates. As a result, the whole world becomes impoverished, polluted and enslaved, while a few people live ridiculously opulent lifestyles.

We deserve a planet full of trees, rocks, and animals, and we deserve the time and energy to enjoy them.

Let them keep their soul-sucking, planet-raping, low-wage, no-benefit, endless grind of a job to themselves.

Do something different with your life.

Spit roasted rat is not half bad. ■

John Hardin lives off-the grid, in an unpermitted structure, on land he doesn't own, deep in the woods of Northern California. He has no job, phone, credit cards or presentable clothes. He emerges from the woods most Wednesdays long enough to upload weekly posts to his blog, "Like You've Got Something Better To Do," at lygsbtd.wordpress.com, where a version of this essay appears.

Toronto Cops Find Themselves Guilty!

When the cops themselves say they acted illegally, you know it's got to have been bad. It is also rare when the police (smiley-faced when helping kids across the street; brutal, out-of-control mercenaries when unleashed) make their misdeeds public.

So, it was a shock of some proportion to read parts of a 287-page report issued in May by Toronto's Office of the Independent Police Review on the excessive force, illegal arrests, and attacks on peaceful demonstrators during the June 2010 G-8 meeting in that city.

The brutality witnessed in the suppression of Occupy sites and against recent Quebec student strikers is always brushed off by police and city officials either with blatant denials even in the face of video evidence, or, as with the student strikers in Montreal hit with police-launched projectiles, with the claim they were responding to violence from demonstrators.

The latter excuse was also the fall-back claim of the Toronto police. The cop violence was part of a \$1 billion security effort to guard the imperial chieftains meeting behind closed doors.

The report states that the police "ignored basic rights," jailed people without cause, used "excessive force," and that it was cops who escalated violence after a first night of window trashing by small groups of demonstrators.

The report puts the blame on Toronto deputy police chief, Tony Warr (an appropriate name!), who investigators said "wanted the streets that had been made unsafe by the terrorists that were attacking

our city to be made safe again by restoring order." However accurate this may be, the idea that this type of police violence, the armed might of the state in repressive mode, is the result of one officer going rogue is ridiculous.

Rogue means behavior altered from the norm, but as is evident to all through ubiquitous social media, the state's armed thugs behave with brutality and impunity from Liberty Square in Cairo, to Zuccotti Park on Wall Street, to Oscar Grant Plaza in Oakland, Calif.

When people blast through the mass mind set of submission and revolt against the rulers, police function as the first line of military suppression. The inherently violent and repressive nature of police forces cannot be altered by new recommendations as contained in the Toronto report, police/community review boards, sensitivity workshops, or the like. The police everywhere acted out their ultimate script.

The state lacking police or minus a military would be comprised only of the rulers without the capacity to maintain their domination. The political state has accurately been described at its core as a body of armed men.

On the individual level, think of the personality structure of those police who take part in repressive activity. Would any of us enjoy (and, they do enjoy it) suiting up in robo-con gear, strapping on a variety of weapons, all of which you hope you get the opportunity to use, and then attacking people, some dressed in t-shirts and flip-flops (a bad idea) with clubs, fists, blackjacks, tear

gas and smoke projectiles (and, we know they aim deliberately at people), and finally arrest them knowing they had done nothing other than protest against government policies?

These are violent and twisted personalities given undue respect by much of the citizenry, many of whom have similar authoritarian personalities, and others who see the police as holding back, well, yes, anarchy.

Bill Blair, Toronto's police chief, refused to apologize even in the face of the scathing criticism of his force.

Left out of the official report is the sexual savagery women were subjected to by the Toronto police during the G-8 demonstrations which our article printed on page 20 chronicles. Sexual assaults by police against women demonstrators are regular occurrences across the world, the worst being in Third World countries where women are routinely raped by police as well as state- and corporate-funded paramilitaries.

David Graeber, in "New Police Strategy in New York - Sexual Assault Against Peaceful Protesters" at truthout.com, writes about the experiences of women at Occupy Wall Street where New York City police turned suddenly to groping as an intimidation tactic.

The cops probably would be at least a little nicer if we agreed not to object to anything, but as we get closer to the inner layers of power, the praetorian guard may very well step up its violence.

As usual, the best tactic against police assault, besides our media, which allows public exposure of brutal and sexual attacks, is our solidarity and preparedness. At least, don't wear flip-flops.

Call For Submissions: SEX Fifth Estate Winter 2012-2013 Theme

"Full sexual consciousness and a natural regulation of sexual life mean the end of mystical feelings of any kind. In other words, natural sexuality is the deadly enemy of mystical religion." —Wilhelm Reich, *Listen, Little Man*

Deadline: November 1

Publication date: December

Sex. It is perhaps the most loaded word in the English language, with numerous connotations and denotations. In this issue of Fifth Estate, we want to explore sex and sexuality in all its forms, exposing the naked truths, and teasing out the possibilities. No topic is too risqué.

Your ideas for suggested news articles, essays, and art are welcome. Please submit manuscripts for short pieces and proposals for longer essays, along with graphics and photographs to: Fifth Estate, PO Box 201016, Ferndale, MI 48220, USA

Or submit online at fe@fifthestate.org

Please put "Submission 389" on the email subject line.

Letters

From page 3

Kelly Pflug-Back responds: I think there is something to be gained here from the controversial position which author Patrick Califia takes in the book, *Public Sex: The Culture of Radical Sex*.

Califia argues that many of the laws and social mores which are allegedly there to protect youth and children from being sexually exploited or "corrupted" actually do very little to accomplish this. Instead, they simply reinforce widespread societal notions that minors are not responsible or intelligent enough to know what is best for them.

Denying young people the agency to determine their own sexuality, as well as the agency to meaningfully participate in most of the public sphere, essentially objectifies them: they are not active subjects, but rather the property of their parents or guardians and the state.

This objectification is a large part of the reason that children and young people are vulnerable to being preyed upon sexually by adults.

As Califia and many others have argued, pedophilia is not a universal phenomenon but rather one that occurs most frequently in hierarchical societies where unequal power relations between people are eroticized.

Whether society approves or not, many young people of all orientations and gender identities are sexually active.

Placing restrictions on youth sexuality only pushes them into secrecy about their activities and limits their access to contraception, sexual health services, and information on sexual orientation and gender identity, all of which are essential for the kind of safe, healthy sex life that all people should have a right to if they so choose.

Certainly, our society is not an ideal place for youth to discover their sexuality, but this confusing miasma of exploitative imagery

and prejudiced attitudes is unfortunately what they must navigate during one of life's most transitional periods. What they need along this journey is support, respect, and free access to information, not more paternalism.

FE Note: Strangers In A Tangled Wilderness, a collective-run publisher of anarchist culture are releasing a short book of poetry by G-20 arrestee Kelly Rose Pflug-Back, *These Burning Streets*.

Kelly is facing 18 months in prison (see p. 7) and until she is free of the judicial system, the publisher is selling her book as a fundraiser, with every dollar received going directly to support her. Visit tangledwilderness.org to order.

Why We Give Free Subs to Prisoners

I am an inmate in the Pinckneyville Correctional Center in Perry County, Illinois. I read about your magazine in *Drawing Down the Moon* and that you offer free subscriptions to prisoners and soldiers.

I am a pagan inmate with limited funds. To be specific, I live off the ten dollars a month the state gives me to purchase hygiene items. Needless to say, your magazine would be greatly appreciated. The description in the book is something that I am very interested in.

Ryan Stueck

I'm a prisoner in California in the Security Housing Unit for supposedly orchestrating the last summer and fall's statewide prison hunger strike to protest conditions in units such as the one I'm in. [FE note: see prisons.org]. I received your publication from Books Through Bars (booksthroughbars.org) and enjoy the thought provoking articles.

I haven't had many instances where I could read and learn things. I have a great hunger for things to read.

Here at Corcoran, we do not have a librarian or library privileges due to the state budget crisis even though federal and state prison regulations require reading material be made available to all inmates

regardless of security level.

Reading is critical to the thought process, and I want to expand my mental horizons.

All of us share everything we come across to read, so would appreciate a subscription.

Alexander S. Parks
Corcoran, Calif.

FE Note: Many prisoners learn about our publication from Margot Adler's 1979 book, *Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today*.

Adler, today an NPR commentator, hit a cord with the incarcerated as well as those on the outside as the book continues to sell briskly even after 33 years. It lists the Fifth Estate, for a reason unknown to us, as a resource for Wiccans. Perhaps it was because of our anti-technology and anti-civilization writings during that era.

Against His-Story

I recently re-read Fredy Perlman's *Against His-Story, Against Leviathan!* and was overcome with its poetry and power. I would really like to follow the background that brought Fredy to write that work but in the book he doesn't include any references and only refers to some of the sources by their surnames or pseudonyms.

Has anyone attempted to compile a list of further reading for those of us who have been set alight by this book?

Ransu

FE Note: That title and many more, including several by Fredy Perlman, are available through Black & Red; blackandred.org.

@s in Minsk

We have just launched a new project in the Minsk, Belarus called Rebel Studies Library. We want to provide access to the anarchist and anti-authoritarian press to the citizens of our country.

If you could help, sending some books, etc., it could be great! Our web-site is rebels-library.org.

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Targeting Who? The DEA's Vision of Terrorism

"And what could be more natural nowadays than to suspect someone of a fondness for drugs?"

Stanislaw Lem

BY AGENT AUTOMATIC

"Target America: Eyes Open to the Damage Drugs Cause" is the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency's (DEA) traveling educational exhibit which attempts to illustrate a connection between the drug war and the war on terror. The operating assumption behind the exhibit is that terrorists need narcotic sales to fund their campaigns, and by extension, buying or selling drugs promotes terrorism.

In order to drive this connection home, Target America's entrance to the display consisted of twisted I-beams, and concrete chunks from 9/11 Ground Zero and assorted children's toys. The Detroit Science Center hosted the exhibit and on the afternoon I attended several local grade schools had just dropped their students off.

While I worked my way through the center, children shouted, played tag, and seemed generally unaffected by the gravity of their surroundings. The exhibits fixation on children (as expressed through the ubiquitous use of toys in the displays) was apparently intended to function on two levels.

First, to make adults empathize with the parents of children killed in the 9-11 bombing, and second, children were supposed to feel that it could have been them, as if they could be the next victims of narco-terrorists. Like a confidence scam, Target America emphasized emotional responses rather than critical reasoning. Its approach and execution were that of a shell game, bait with terror then switch to the drug war; keep everyone guessing and collect the cash.

The first display was an exhaustive study of opium production in Afghanistan. An information placard stated, "Afghanistan has recently regained its position as the leading producer of opium in the world for illegal trafficking." The text ignored that this current boom in opium production is occurring under U.S. occupation.

Also omitted was the fact that the Taliban, who limited opium production during their rule, carried out terrorism endorsed by the United States government. Conversely, countries which still allow opium production, including Australia, India and Turkey, utilize many of the same poppy fields today as they did during the era of Britain's compulsory opium importation which resulted in

the 19th century Opium Wars in China.

Perhaps this information was left out because the exhibit designers were too busy constructing an ersatz opium lab. Not surprisingly, a faux opium brick and a functioning opium press were not included in the "hands on" portions of the display.

Needless to say, Target America never implicated the United States as supporting terrorists or drug suppliers, opting instead for myopic finger pointing. For example, Pfizer Pharmaceuticals, which manufactures Sudafed (often used in methamphetamine production) was not linked to the war on terror.

However, the display did mention that the "respectable

[German] pharmaceutical company," Bayer, was responsible for first isolating heroin in 1903. Thus, some producers and developers of narcotics were linked, albeit opaquely, to terrorism whereas others were not.

After leaving the opium exhibit, I encountered a simulated methamphetamine lab which had been constructed to look like a hotel room. The lab was flanked with photos of dirty bathrooms and people shooting up beside sleeping children. Inside the "meth lab" there were road flares, hand guns and cans of starter fluid

placed with labels facing outward like a mega-store display.

Also present was a bottle of Pepsi, although a Coca-Cola container would be more appropriate because cocaine was an original ingredient in Coke and the company's complicity in the violent oppression of union organizers in Columbia easily constitutes terrorism.

Adjacent to the meth lab was a large photo of Osama Bin Laden hanging above a dummy Stinger surface-to-air missile. Unstated in this display was that while a terrorist firing this weapon is a criminal, the corporation who manufactures it remains free of all culpability.

Nearby, Target America's most forthright assertion mentions the Medellin drug cartel which "while conducting a campaign of terror on one hand... are building schools and supporting the local community with their drug profits on the other." Surprisingly this statement is posed under the heading, "Who is a narco-terrorist?" The answer seems to be "depends on who you ask."



—Maurice Spira

► While poverty was linked to drug use throughout this exhibit, nowhere was it more apparent than in "The Crack Den" wherein a dilapidated baby carriage and dirty diapers sat beneath peeling wallpaper. There was no mention of the landlord's place in this squalor.

The absent referent being that if the crack heads so desired, they could turn the place into a page from *Better Homes and Gardens* magazine. I'm curious what the visiting school children made of this connection between poverty and terrorism; if they were internalizing our national mythology that places the affluent above such base desires? According to the buses outside, many of these kids were from inner city schools, where funding runs short and parents work multiple jobs just to make ends meet. Unfortunately, this exhibit had nothing to indicate that a person could be both poor and innocent.

A history of addiction included giant renditions of pulp novel covers such as *Marijuana Girl*, *Refer Club* and William Burroughs' *Junkie*. Apparently the creators of this display failed to notice that the central argument of *Junkie* contends that addiction is a universal part of the human experience (whether the addiction is to caffeine, heroin or religion).

Hanging on an adjacent wall were a pair of ruined lungs which seemingly implicated big tobacco with terrorism although this was not overtly stated. Similarly, in the world of Target America, alcohol was hardly a concern despite a staggering amount of alcohol related accidents, violence and deaths.

"What Remains" was an exhibit built on the wreckage of an automobile, surrounded by bongs, toys, and family photos. Some of the children played with the toys, seemingly unaware of their symbolism.

I used to wonder what happened to all those old anti-drug commercials, but now know they've been recycled for Target America. A commercial warning of the dangers of Ecstasy showed teens running through fields laughing, but later becoming anxious and paranoid until there is only one young woman remaining in a

harsh desert environment.

It would be great if the Target America people had a similar commercial for Prozac which ended in a suicide or a workplace shooting, since these occasionally have occurred as a result of the drug.

Curiously, later in the exhibit, Prozac was listed as a cure for addiction while a poster a short distance down the aisle stated "6 out of 10 drug users suffered from mental illness." Unfortunately, it didn't speculate that in some cases mental illness might be the problem with addiction as a symptom rather than the cause.

Perhaps strangest of all was the way in which the entire exhibition seemed like a trade show designed around the drug culture. At times the displays appeared instructional, telling viewers where to go for drugs, what was needed to manufacture them, current street prices, and so on.

Like a trade show the noise was overwhelming. At no point during the exhibit could I escape pre-recorded gun shots, sirens, and simulated drug deals. This emphasis on disorientation was also embodied in the display's labyrinthine floor plan.

Near the exit, interactive monitors allowed visitors to assign a virtual DEA agent to a drug bust. There were also hydro-grow closets, so if a visitor happened to see one at a relative's house then they could call the cops and fill them in, just like in the video game.

According to some adjacent material, the U.S. is under siege from all directions and must stand strong against the drug underworld's power to "destabilize nations." While leaving the Science Center, I passed a video of the DEA administrator describing "how sinister the drug culture has become."

However I'm wondering who targets America; terrorists or the DEA? Overall, the poor seem to be targets of nearly everyone. After several hours inside Target America, I left feeling unsettled and suspicious, as if I am being watched and simultaneously need to be watchful for something oppressive, sinister and unseen. ■

Dancing in Protest on the Grave of Capitalism

A few hundred people carrying a coffin and accompanied by a brass band marched through Oakland, Calif. on Leap Day, Feb. 29, at a funeral for capitalism. It was a welcome break from protesting-as-usual as well as a demonstration of how the Occupy scene is moving beyond single issue politics and rejecting the whole rotten system. The procession was short on mourning and long on celebration.

It stopped to scatter ashes at Chase Bank and Cigna Healthcare corporation, the fifth largest healthcare corporation in the US. The funeral moved to Lake Merritt Park where capitalism was eulogized with a malology. Then, the marchers smashed capitalism's coffin to bits and danced wildly on its grave.

—Thanks to Slingshot for this



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**“Underground presses
cannot survive within capitalist society...
they are created only in order to
destroy capitalist relations.”**

—Fredy Perlman

FREDY PERLMAN was a radical activist, college professor, writer and publisher whose philosophy has had a significant influence on modern anarchist thought. His most well-known book, *Against His-Story, Against Leviathan!*, uses Thomas Hobbes' metaphor of the Leviathan (a huge, monstrous beast that represented the power of a strong government authority) to criticize the rise of modern statist, capitalist civilization. He also helped found the Detroit Printing Co-Op and the anarchist publishing company Black and Red Books. He died in 1985.